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THE CONSTITUTION AND THE FLAG.

THE doctrine of the day is that wherever the Flag goes the Constitution goes with it. If this is not true, then, it is said, "Bring back the flag." Leaving out of consideration the legality of the statement that the Constitution without legislation goes wherever the Flag goes, let us look at the facts.

We exercise sovereignty to-day over about seventy islands, or groups of islands, which are called "guano" islands. We rule them by virtue of the Act of Congress of August 18, 1856. Never has there been the slightest pretence in the world that the Constitution extends to these islands. Residents there are under the control of such of our laws as are applicable to their condition, and that is the whole of the matter. Other examples of the Flag going where the Constitution does not go are to be found in all the countries in which we exercise extra-territorial jurisdiction. Under title 47, sections 4083 to 4130 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, we now have Consular Courts in China, Korea, Maskat, Morocco, Persia, Samoa, Siam, Tonga, Turkey, and Zanzibar. Until the 17th of July, 1899, we had such courts in Japan. Men are tried by the Consular Courts without indictment by a grand jury, and by Assessors instead of by a petit jury. Murder cases are tried by the Consul and four Assessors; other cases, felonies and misdemeanors, are tried by the Consul and two Assessors. Civil cases are tried by the Consul, if he pleases, or he may call two Assessors, so that at no time is there either grand jury or petit jury.

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In the framing of the Statutes giving jurisdiction to the Consular Courts the Constitution is ignored. The ministers in most of the countries named above are appellate judges, but they are removable at the will of the Executive, which is contrary to the Constitution in the case of Federal judges for the States. The right of legislation as exercised by us in foreign countries is not created by treaties. It is inherent in government, and there are many cases in which governments exercise jurisdiction over their subjects found in other countries than their own where there are no treaties granting the right to do so. To some extent treaties regulate the right. The Supreme Court of the United States has passed on every constitutional point that legal ingenuity can raise as affecting extra-territoriality in both criminal and civil law. For the benefit of the Bar, I cite a few :

In re Ross, 140 U. S. 463, 465 ; Dainese v. Hale, 91 U. S. 13 ; Mahoney v. United States, 10 Wall 66, 67 ; In re Joseph Stupp (11 Blatchford, 124) ; United States v. Craig (28 Fed. Rep. 801) ; United States v. Smiley (6 Saw. 645) ; Steamer Spark v. Lee Choi Chum (1 Saw. 713) ; Tazaymon v. Twombly, 5 Saw. p. 79 ; The Pinzon, 7 Saw. 483 ; The Pinzon, 11 Fed. Rep. 607.

The Ross case is the leading criminal case. Ross was charged with committing murder on board of an American ship lying in the harbor of Yokohama, Japan. He was tried before the United States Consul-General at Yokohama. There was no indictment by a grand jury. He was tried by the Consul-General and four Assessors. He was sentenced to be hanged, but the sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life, and he was confined in the penitentiary at Albany, New York. After ten years had elapsed he brought a writ of habeas corpus before the United States Circuit Court. Appeal was had to the Supreme Court. Its judgment sustained the jurisdiction and procedure. The court held that the " Constitution can have no operation in another country."

Now I am well aware that my critics will say that this is exactly the point—that our recently acquired islands are not another country, etc. ; but let us go on, step by step. It has been shown conclusively that the Constitution does not go with the Flag always and everywhere, and that will do for a beginning. Continuing to state facts, and keeping away from the discussion of constitutional law for the present, we have the following resolution passed by the Senate at the time the Paris treaty was ratified :

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That by the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain it is

> not intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands into citizenship of the United States, nor is it intended to permanently annex said islands as an integral part of the territory of the United States; but it is the intention of the United States to establish on said islands a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants of said islands to prepare them for local self-government, and in due time to make such disposition of said islands as will best promote the interests of the citizens of the United States and the inhabitants of said islands.

So we see that the Senate of the United States one year ago held that the Filipinos were not citizens of the United States, and the islands were not annexed to the United States. In spite of the facts as declared to exist, I believe that some of the gentlemen who voted for the resolution claim that the Constitution does now operate in the Islands and does control the inhabitants.

The ordinance of 1787 is another fact. If the rights guaranteed to the people of the States by the Articles of Confederation accrued to the people of the Northwest Territory simply by the transfer of that Territory to the confederated States, then the provisions of the ordinance were useless and unnecessary. Nevertheless, six Articles of Compact were enacted, most of which embody constitutional principles, such as freedom of religion, habeas corpus, and trial by jury. If the statesmen of that day had considered the Territory and its inhabitants endowed with all the rights specified in the Articles of Confederation, or entitled to statehood as an inherent right, it is not probable that they would have enacted sections 13 and 14 of the ordinance, which may be found in the Revised Statutes of the United States, page 15. By section 13 "the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws, and constitutions, are erected" were extended to the Territory. These principles were fixed and established as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments which forever thereafter should be established in said Territory. Such particular mention would not have been necessary if these principles had pertained to the Territory by inherent right.

Sticking to facts only, let us now look at the Louisiana purchase. The second section of the Act of October 31, 1803, which authorized possession to be taken of Louisiana, reads as follows:

> SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That until the expiration of the present session of Congress, unless provision for the temporary government of the said territories be sooner made by Congress, all the military, civil, and judicial powers, exercised by the officers of the existing government of the same, shall be vested in such person and persons, and shall be exercised in such manner, as the President of the United

States shall direct for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.

The President is therein authorized to name officers to exercise "all the military, civil, and judicial powers exercised by the officers of the existing government." The old, effete, and worn-out system of Spain was continued; a United States Commissioner became a Governor-General, and enjoyed almost regal authority; many curious laws remained in force: clearly the Constitution did not go with the Flag.

On March 26, 1804, Congress passed another Act providing for the government of this Territory. The government was not at all democratic. It was to be administered by the governor, secretary, and judges of the Indiana Territory. The governor and judges were authorized to make all necessary laws. The laws were to be consistent with the Constitution of the United States. If the Constitution, *proprio vigore*, was in force in the Territory, the extension to it by act of Congress was unnecessary.

The Territory of Orleans was organized by the same Act and in the same manner. In both Territories full powers were given to officers not elected by the people.

I cannot pursue this comparative statement further. For wider information I refer the reader to the very able report made by Hon. Charles E. Magoon, Law Officer of the Division of Insular Affairs, of the date February 12, 1900. He will there find that the Acts of Congress regarding the establishment of governments in the "Northwest Territory" and the "Louisiana Purchase" have been the basis of all subsequent legislation. He can verify this statement by an examination of the circumstances following the treaty with Spain regarding Florida (1819), the treaty with Mexico regarding Upper California and New Mexico (1847–48), and the treaty with Russia on the purchase of Alaska (1867).

I am not going to wade into the sea of argument to show that Congress is not bound to extend to the people of the Territories all the guarantees of the Constitution. With the United States Digest before me, I could pile up here mountains of law cases holding that Congress can legislate as it pleases. What would be the good of doing it? Other lawyers will pile up Pelion on Ossa to the contrary; and from the controversy of the Bar a popular result could not be reached. We must wait until the Supreme Court decides the exact question at issue, for the last decision rules. It will come, and then we shall know—until the question comes up again—whether the Constitution, by its own force, extends itself over all territory that we acquire and, without any Congressional action, takes with it to the people living there all the guarantees of human rights which exist in the United States. We who are old men, and those of us especially who fought for the Union, have been dreaming since 1865 that this question was settled on the battle-fields of the Republic by an arbitrament which, in its mighty influence, transcends courts as well as lawyers. We thought that it was settled that slavery did not by virtue of the Constitution go to the Territories. If Calhoun was right and Webster was wrong, let us tear off the honorable badges we wear of service in the Union armies. If the Constitution waited as a handmaid on our Southern brethren, and took into the Territories the right to hold slaves, without or regardless of any legislation, then the Confederates were fighting for their rights, and we were in the wrong. This conclusion will humiliate us a little ; but if it is the law, let the decision be made—because then by peaceful methods we shall amend the Constitution.

The old Philippine Commission, which has passed into history, discussed this question as follows on page iii of its report:

> THE POWERS OF CONGRESS OVER THE PHILIPPINES.
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> The treaty of Paris leaves to Congress the determination of the civil rights and political status of the inhabitants of the archipelago. The extent of the powers which Congress is competent to exercise was indicated at the time of the Louisiana legislation in 1803, when they were exercised to a practically unlimited extent.
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> The Constitution gives Congress authority to make rules and regulations for the domain beyond the limits of the States. But the restrictions which the Constitution imposes upon Congressional power when operating within the States do not adhere to it when operating outside the States ; that is, in the Territories. Congress is not constitutionally bound to establish uniformity of duties, imposts, and excises throughout the Territories as it is throughout the States. No doubt it has always done so, because it was convenient and expedient. But the action, which was based on considerations which do not apply to the Philippines, was not in obedience to a constitutional mandate.

I do not cite this as authority. The gentleman who wrote the above lines is not a lawyer, but he is an able, painstaking scholar, who possesses to a remarkable degree the power of research and analysis, and his views are entitled to very great consideration. If the law be that the Philippines are to all intents and purposes part of our country, and that its people are co-citizens with us, there may be a mighty change in public sentiment as to the propriety of holding them. It is too early to discuss this question now.

Should the Supreme Court, however, decide that Congress is authorized to govern the Filipinos, it does not follow that we should deny to them any right or privilege which is suited to their condition. We should educate the children; divorce church and state; establish free municipal and provincial governments; reform abuses; remodel the law courts; make the laws conform to improved methods; enfranchise the press; and introduce a great measure of personal liberty. Especially must we see to it that the islands are not exploited by politicians. It is of the utmost importance that all the offices should be filled by natives, when it can be done without injury to the public service. It goes without saying that our system of government, whatever it may be, shall not admit of tribute being paid to us. We must not raise money in the Philippines to be paid to our home treasury and used for our separate benefit.

It is plain, however, that discussion of what shall be done in the future is useless now. The nation stands breathless awaiting the decision of the great tribunal which is to determine the future of the Philippines.

CHARLES DENBY.

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE BOERS.

In 1652 the Dutch East India Company bought from the Hottentot chief, Manckhagen, for 4,000 pieces of eight, the land on which Cape Colony is settled, and began to colonize South Africa. Twenty years afterward, Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, and a large number of the French Protestants fled into Holland. As the Dutch climate was cold and did not suit them, a considerable number of these Huguenots emigrated to the new colony, where they could cultivate the orange and the vine, and live under more congenial circumstances, and the present Boers and Burghers of South Africa—or Afrikanders, as they call themselves—are the descendants of these Dutch and French settlers.

In 1795 the British took possession of the Cape Colony, in order to prevent its occupation by the French. By the treaty of Amiens, in 1802, it was restored to the Dutch ; and in 1806, war having again broken out, a British force captured Cape Town and compelled the Dutch army to capitulate. Under the treaty of Vienna, in 1814, Great Britain returned to the Dutch their East Indian possessions, but retained Cape Colony, which had been found useful as a provisioning station and half-way house to India, and so was purchased from the Dutch Government. The cession, however, was made without the wishes of the colonists being considered. They held that the Dutch authorities had no right to sell the Colony without their consent, since they were free-born citizens, and could not be transferred, like slaves, to new masters; so Britain soon found that she had anything but loyal and contented subjects.

In 1815 a riot occurred which developed into a local rising. Although this rebellion was easily crushed, the cruelty of the measures taken against those who had been engaged in it caused very bitter feelings among the colonists at large, and intensified the growing dislike to British rule. The Boers still remember Slachtersnek, and from that time began the migration into the interior which finally culminated in the great " trek " of 1836, when nearly 10,000 of them sold their houses and farms for anything they could get. Some, who were unable to find a purchaser, burned their buildings and their title deeds. They then formed themselves into large parties and migrated into the wilderness to find a new home beyond the limits of British possessions and British rule. Many of them had been born citizens of the Batavian Republic, and had been made British subjects by force, and without their consent. Under British rule they had suffered what they considered to be tyranny and oppression, so they determined at any cost to get rid of it. The principal causes which induced the colonists to take this course were:

First, the costly and despotic character of the Government. Although the population was only about 30,000, the Governor had £12,000 a year and the Lieutenant-Governor £3,000, two Secretaries had £3,000 a year each, and there were numbers of other highly paid officials.

Second, an alien, costly, and inefficient system of administration of justice, under which they were even prevented from acting as jurymen.

Third, the use of the Dutch language was guaranteed them in the proclamation of 1806, and in 1825 was prohibited for official purposes.

Fourth, British currency was also introduced in 1825, and all taxes had to be paid in it. The paper rix-dollars were also taken, but only at one shilling and sixpence on the dollar, although they had a face value of four shillings, and had been issued by the Government at par as late as 1801.

Fifth, when slavery was abolished, in 1834, the slaves were valued at between three and four million pounds, but only £1,200,000, payable by bills in England, was awarded as compensation. It was estimated that, in consequence of the conditions on which payments were made, only about half a million was received by the farmers, and that a large part was not even claimed.

Sixth, while all these causes embittered the feelings of the Afrikanders toward the British Government, the most important was the native policy of Lord Glenelg. The old system of self-defence against native raids had been abolished, and the colonists had no adequate protection against the incursions of the wild tribes on their borders, so that in one week in 1834, during the Kaffir war, 450 farmhouses were burned, forty persons were murdered, and 4,000 horses, 100,000 head of cattle, and 150,000 sheep were carried off. Some of the cattle and horses were recovered, and, although they had the brand of the owners on them, were not returned, but were sold to cover the expenses of the war.

The Chief Commissioner on the frontier, Colonel Somerset, tried, at first, to prevent the " trek " ; but the Lieutenant-Governor considered that the migrating farmers had a perfect right to leave the Colony if they wished, and the Cape Attorney-General, Mr. Oliphant, also decided that it was perfectly legal. He said :

> "The class of people under consideration evidently mean to seek their fortunes in another land, and to consider themselves no longer British subjects, so far as the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope is concerned. Would it therefore be prudent or just, even if it were possible, to prevent persons, discontented with their condition, trying to better themselves in whatever part of the world they pleased ? The same sort of removal takes place every day from Great Britain to the United States."

The principal leader of the great "trek" was Pieter Retief, a descendant of one of the Huguenot families. Before starting he issued a manifesto giving the reasons for the course they were taking, and pointing out the many grievances and wrongs the colonists had suffered. He held that there was no prospect of peace or happiness for themselves or their children when their very elementary rights had been violated. They had no protection for their lives or property, and their position was intolerable. He thus concludes the manifesto :

> "We complain of the severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves, and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them. We complain of the continued system of plunder which we have for years endured from the Kaffirs and other colored classes, and particularly by the last invasion of the colony, which has desolated the frontier district and ruined most of the inhabitants. We complain of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons under the name of religion, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all evidence in our favor ; and we can foresee, as the result of this prejudice, nothing but the total ruin of the country. We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future. We are now leaving the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are about to enter a strange and dangerous territory, but we go with a firm reliance on an all-seeing, just, and merciful God, whom we shall always fear and humbly endeavor to obey."

In his despatch stating the causes of the migration Sir Benjamin Durban, the Governor of the Cape Colony, said that the colonists trekked because of " the insecurity of life and property occasioned by recent measures, inadequate compensation for the loss of the slaves, and the despair of obtaining recompense for the ruinous losses by the

Kaffir invasion." He described them as "a brave, patient, industrious, orderly, and religious people."

The migrating colonists first settled in the Orange Free State, which had been almost depopulated by Molelikatse, the founder of the Matabele tribe. He attacked one of the earlier parties, killing several of the farmers and carrying away their cattle and sheep, but he was afterward defeated and driven north of the Vaal River. In 1838 a number of the farmers crossed the Drakensberg range and entered Natal, then possessed by the Zulu king, Dingaan, who gave it to the migrants for assisting him to recover his cattle from Sikonyella. The deed of cession was drawn up by the Rev. Mr. Owen, one of the Zululand missionaries. It gave "to Retief and his countrymen the place called Port Natal, together with all the land annexed, that is to say, from the Tugela to the Umzimvobo River, and from the sea to the north, as far as the land may be useful and in my possession." Within this territory the Boers formed the Republic of Natalia, with Pietermaritzburg as the capital. A Volksraad, or people's council, and an executive government were elected.

On September 4, 1840, this Government sent a letter to Sir George Napier, the Governor of Cape Colony, proposing to send two of their number as commissioners to negotiate a treaty. In his reply Sir George Napier said he could only enter into treaty relations with them "on their receiving a military force to exclude the interference with or possession of the country by any other European power." The Volksraad met on the 11th of October, 1841, to consider the reply to their proposal for a treaty, and empowered its secretary to inform the Governor of the Cape "that, having asserted and maintained their independence as Dutch South Africans ever since they left the Cape Colony, they were fully determined not to surrender this point, and as Her Majesty's representative had been pleased to reject their very fair proposals, they would remain in the same position as before." To this reply the Governor of the Cape issued a proclamation declaring that the migrant farmers were British subjects, that he was going to send Her Majesty's forces to occupy Natal, and solemnly warning the inhabitants of the consequences if they in any way opposed the forces or the due exercise of Her Majesty's authority in the district. The Volksraad issued a protest against any attempt to occupy their Republic, declaring that they would meet force by force, and that they held themselves free from any evil results that might occur if these forces were sent.

Nevertheless, 300 men with two guns were sent under Captain Smith, and he occupied Durban on May 3, 1842. The Volksraad called out a command of 300 Burghers, and this force, under the command of Andreas Pretorius, met Smith near Durban and defeated him; capturing his two guns, and inflicting on the British a loss of 103 killed and wounded. But a large force under Sir Josias Clootie ultimately defeated Pretorius, and on March 12, 1843, Natal was proclaimed a British colony. The majority of the Boers, with Pretorius, gave up their farms, and, passing through the Orange Free State, settled in the country north of the Vaal River. The Boers in the Free State were not interfered with by the British Government till 1845, when, on some trouble occurring between the Boers and the Griquas, the Cape Government interfered. They declared the country to be under their protection, and appointed Major Warden as Resident. He came up to Bloemfontein, the capital, and took possession of it on behalf of Great Britain. The Free State Boers then called upon Pretorius and his party in the Transvaal to aid them in driving out the British.

In response the Boers under Pretorius marched on Bloemfontein. On arriving there the Boer general sent a letter to Major Warden informing him that the Boers would not submit to British rule, and asking him to retire or they would be compelled to drive him out. The Resident found that he had not a sufficient force to assert his authority, so he retired on condition that his troops and supporters should be allowed to take their arms and their property with them. The Governor of the Cape, Sir Harry Smith, then collected a large British and Basuto force, and defeated Pretorius at Boomplatz. The Boer army retired to the north of the Vaal, but Sir Harry Smith did not follow them. He offered a reward for the capture of Pretorius and some of the other leaders, reëstablished British authority, and reinstated Major Warden. On the authority of a few inhabitants of Bloemfontein, principally British traders, he informed the Secretary for the Colonies that four-fifths of the people in the territory were in favor of annexation, but had been coerced by the violence of Pretorius and the other leaders.

The British Government, while more than willing to annex Natal, in order to prevent any other European power obtaining a settlement on the coast, was rather doubtful as to the wisdom of extending its authority any farther into the interior; but being assured that the great majority of the inhabitants desired to come under their authority, they somewhat reluctantly agreed to take over the country, and letters patent were issued in March, 1851, incorporating the territory under the name of the Orange River Sovereignty. But the British Government soon became aware how very much the Governor of the Cape had misled them as to the facts of the case ; for the new sovereignty was soon at war with its late allies, the Basutos. The war was carried on by Major Warden at great cost and with very little result. He called out the Boers to assist, but out of a thousand men commandeered only seventy-five answered to his call. Hence he wrote for more troops to carry on the campaign, and stated that two-thirds of the Boers in the sovereignty were in their hearts rebels.

Within twelve months of the issue of the letters patent, Earl Grey, on December 15, 1851, sent a despatch to the Governor of the Cape, reminding him that the British Government had taken over the country upon the representation that it was generally desired by the inhabitants, adding that if the inhabitants would not support the authority of the British Government which had been established in the sovereignty solely for their advantage, but, on the contrary, desired to be relieved from it, there was no British interest to be served by maintaining it, and that it was impossible to incur the expense of keeping up a force sufficient to maintain in that distant region an authority which the great majority of the inhabitants would not obey. Sir Harry Smith was censured and recalled by Earl Grey, and Sir George Cathcart was sent out to inaugurate a new policy, based on the acknowledgment of the independence of the Boers. "When we retire," said Earl Grey in a despatch to the Governor, "you will understand that any wars, however sanguinary, which may afterward occur between the different tribes and the communities left in a state of independence beyond the Colonial boundary are to be considered as affording no ground for your interference."

This new policy was at once carried out by Sir George Cathcart. He sent Major Hogge and Mr. C. M. Owen to arrange a treaty with Pretorius and the Transvaal Boers. They met at Sand River on the 17th of January, 1852, when a convention was signed by the contracting parties recognizing the independence of the Transvaal Republic. In the first clause the Commissioners guaranteed in the fullest manner on the part of the British Government to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government, and also that no encroachment should be made by the said Government on the territory to the north of the Vaal River. They disclaimed all alliances whatever and with whomsoever of the colored nations to the north of the Vaal River. No slavery was to be permitted, and there were to be free trade and friendly intercourse between the peoples. Criminals were to be extradited, and it was mutually understood that all trade in ammunition with natives should be prohibited both by the British Government and by the emigrant farmers on both sides of the Vaal River.

With the Boers in the sovereignty a treaty on similar lines was arranged, under which the British authorities retired. Some opposition to this course was made by a few of the English residents, and by some of the Cape merchants, and a deputation was sent to England to prevent the retrocession of the Free State. But the Government remained firm, and the territory was handed over to the delegates of the Boers at Bloemfontein on February 23, 1854.

The new policy begun by Earl Grey was carried out by Sir John Pakington during the administration of Lord Derby, and was continued by the Aberdeen Ministry which succeeded it. It was the policy of the Whig, Tory, and Coalition Cabinets. In the debate in the House of Commons in 1854, on the "order in council for the abandonment of all sovereignty over the Orange River territory," a measure introduced by Lord Aberdeen's government, it was stated by the minister that he regretted having ever crossed the Orange River, that Lord Grey had done so in deference to the wish of Sir Harry Smith and against his own better judgment, as the Boers were hostile to British rule.

Sir John Pakington supported the motion of the Government, and the new policy was adopted by the Whig and Tory leaders, and by an almost unanimous vote of the House of Commons. If the policy thus adopted by the various statesmen and ratified by Parliament had been faithfully carried out, the history of South Africa during the last half century would have been very different, and many of the native and Boer wars would not have taken place; but this new policy of non-intervention was strongly opposed by the Cape merchants and the Colonial officials. The old system suited them better; they could play off the Boer against the native or the native against the Boer, and could get up a little war at any time. They got all the profit out of it, as the Imperial Government had to pay the cost. Every increase of territory brought new offices and promotion to the officials; hence, one can easily understand why the policy of defining our boundary and refusing to interfere beyond it was opposed by those who were otherwise interested, and why so many officials have been in favor of the forward policy, and from time to time, on various pretexts, have been desirous of getting rid of both the Sand River and Bloemfontein conventions.

When, some years ago, Natal wanted to appoint magistrates in Zululand, Lord Wolseley, as High Commissioner, strongly opposed it. He said in his despatch :

> "To the colonists a war means the spending amongst them of millions of money drawn from the English Treasury, and the crime of bringing about a native war does not so clearly appear to the Natal colonist, who thinks he may always rely upon the aid of British battalions to save him from the adverse consequences of a conflict which he may have himself provoked."

The whole history of South Africa had proved that such a policy led to war and to the extermination of the natives whom Britain had intended to benefit. Several attempts were made to get the British Government to interfere with the people beyond its borders. In 1857 Sir George Grey wanted to interfere in one of the Basuto wars, but the Colonial Secretary, Lord Taunton, refused to permit him. The policy he was to carry out was "to observe strictly the letter and spirit of the treaties we have entered into with the neighboring independent states, to maintain the integrity of our possessions on the confines of these states, but to avoid any extension of their limits to which they may justly object." In 1868 the Colonial officials were more successful, and the Cape Colony was allowed to annex Basutoland. The Free State protested against this act, as it was contrary to the provisions of the Bloemfontein Convention. The Cape authorities have since bitterly regretted the annexation, as it led to the usual war, in which they spent several millions of pounds and were disgracefully defeated, so that the Imperial Government had to interfere and take Basutoland away from the Cape Colony.

Diamonds were discovered in the western district of the Orange Free State in 1871, and then occurred what Froude has characterized as "perhaps the most discreditable incident in British colonial history," the annexation of the diamond fields. There could be no doubt that the district in which the diamonds were being mined was a portion of the Free State. It was north of the Orange River, and the titles for some of the farms in that district had been issued by the

British Government before the retrocession. But the Colonial officials got a native named Waterboer to claim the territory; and, as he desired to be a British subject, he and the country he claimed were taken over, and the Free State magistrates who had been governing the district were expelled. They did not resist, but yielded under protest.

North of the Vaal River diamonds were also found. A claim was then made for the land north of the Vaal, and the President of the Transvaal was induced to have the matter settled by arbitration. A Mr. Campbell was appointed to act for the British, and a Mr. O'Reilly for the Transvaal, with Mr. Keate, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, as umpire. But the two arbiters could not agree, as President Burgers pointed out in his despatch to Sir Henry Barkly, the High Commissioner; and one of the first things done by Mr. Campbell was to buy 25,000 acres of the land in dispute from Waterboer for a quit rent of three pounds, so that he became an interested party instead of a judge. Both the Free State and the Transvaal governments solemnly protested against this high-handed and illegal act of the British as a serious encroachment on their territory and an unjustifiable violation of the Sand River and Bloemfontein conventions. After some correspondence, President Brand went to London to meet Lord Carnarvon, who agreed to pay the Free State about £100,000 as compensation for this act—a sum not equal to one day's production of the diamond mines. Two or three years afterward, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, when he annexed the Transvaal, reincorporated the part north of the Vaal, as he said Governor Keate's award had handed over the land of the natives to white land-speculators and to anarchy.

The British have paid a terrible price for the unjust annexation of the diamond fields and for the policy they instituted. In order to get native labor for the mines, guns and ammunition were, in direct breach of the conventions, sold to the natives. The great chiefs sent their followers to work in the mines in order to get arms, and Gen. Cunningham estimated that by this means over 400,000 guns were given to them. The Basuto and the Zulu wars were the result of this suicidal policy.

In 1873 gold was discovered in the Transvaal, and many English diggers flocked there. Some wished to rush the gold fields, as had been done in the case of the diamond fields, and they sent petitions to Lord Carnarvon complaining of inadequate protection, and asking to be annexed. Pretexts for interference were again found. Sekukuni, one of the chiefs near the gold fields, having procured arms for his followers at the diamond fields, refused to pay taxes, began cattle-stealing, and made matters generally uncomfortable in the gold-mining district. When a commando was sent to put down this rebellion, Lord Carnarvon protested against the Boers interfering with Sekukuni. He asserted that that chief "was neither *de jure* nor *de facto* a subject of the Republic," and that they had no right to ask him to pay taxes, and wrote a number of semi-hysterical despatches on the subject, of which the following is a specimen. In a despatch dated January 25, 1877, he said :

> "Warnings against this wholly gratuitous and unjust war, earnest and friendly advice, and finally remonstrance have been offered by Her Majesty's Government. Such being the case, it is to be feared that nothing that can be further urged in the way of protest will be found of much avail; nevertheless, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government again to protest in the plainest and strongest terms possible against the proceedings of the Transvaal Government, and the prosecution of this so-called war on the lines hitherto adopted, and while I approve of the remonstrance you have already addressed to President Burgers, I have to instruct you once more to express to him the deep regret and indignation with which Her Majesty's Government view the war."

In March Sekukuni, being defeated, sued for peace, which the Boer Government granted, fining him 2,000 head of cattle as a war indemnity. In April Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexed the Transvaal. Lord Carnarvon had now a splendid opportunity to redress the wrongs of this ill-used native chief by at once remitting the war indemnity for the injury done to him and his people by an "unjust and iniquitous war." Instead of this being done Sir Theophilus Shepstone informed Sekukuni that the Transvaal had been taken over by the British, that he must obey the law and pay the taxes or "leave the country he now occupied," and that the war indemnity of 2,000 head of cattle must be paid without delay to Captain Clark, who had been appointed to approve and receive them.

Notwithstanding all his protests against the action of the Boer Government, Lord Carnarvon, on being informed by Shepstone of his message to Sekukuni, wrote fully approving of what Shepstone had done or proposed to do. Sekukuni refused to pay the war indemnity to Captain Clark or to pay him any taxes, so the British declared war against Sekukuni. Colonel Rowland was sent against him with a large force, but had to retreat ; and finally General Wolseley, aided by the Swagers, captured Sekukuni's stronghold and practically destroyed his tribe. Thus, all that Lord Carnarvon had so strongly protested against and declared to be unjust, atrocious, and contrary to the principles of humanity was done by Lord Carnarvon and his Government. The Zulus were also stirred up by British agents to make claims against the Transvaal authorities; and all sorts of accusations were made regarding the cruelty of the Boers to the natives—accusations published in the blue books to inflame public opinion in Britain against the Boer. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was sent as a Special Commissioner to report as to the condition of affairs in the Transvaal in regard to the native troubles and the petitions for annexation by the miners. He was empowered to annex the country if the war threatened to extend into British territory, and it was to be done if the inhabitants or the legislature were desirous of being annexed. But the war had ceased with the capitulation of Sekukuni, so the colonies were not endangered. The Volksraad was unanimously opposed to annexation, and passed a resolution instructing the Executive to "take the necessary measures for the maintenance of the independence of the Republic."

Although none of the conditions existed that were provided for in his instructions, Shepstone, taking advantage of the poverty and weakness caused by the war, and the complicated political situation resulting from President Burgers' too progressive policy, determined to annex the country. On his informing President Burgers of Britain's intention to take over the government of the country, the Executive Council issued a protest; and, in order to prevent war, sent two of their number—Mr. S. J. P. Krüger, the Vice-President, and Dr. Jorissen, the State Attorney—as a deputation to England to ask the British Government to rescind the proclamation of annexation, as the farmers were almost unanimously opposed to it, and so prevent a war between the two white races of South Africa.

The deputation arrived in England early in June, and when they saw Lord Carnarvon that gentleman informed them that since they had left the Transvaal the people had overwhelmingly expressed their approval of the annexation. They assured Lord Carnarvon that he had been misled by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and returned to get evidence that would convince him how much he was mistaken as to the facts. On the return of the deputation large meetings were held in all the districts, although they were proclaimed by Sir Theophilus Shepstone as seditious, and a petition was signed against annexation and British rule by seven-eighths of the electors in the country; thus demonstrating the inaccuracy of Shepstone's assertions. When

Messrs. Krüger and Joubert brought this petition to London, Lord Carnarvon had resigned office, and the new Colonial Secretary, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, told them that it was a matter of little importance what the present inhabitants desired, and that the country must remain under British sovereignty. The deputation, however, found considerable sympathy among the leaders of the Opposition, and Mr. Gladstone was very eloquent in his denunciations of the annexation. He condemned it as impolitic and unjust. This territory was useless to Britain, and even if it were as valuable as it was valueless, he would repudiate the transaction in consequence of the dishonorable means by which it had been brought about. In one of his Midlothian addresses he said:

> "There is no strength to be added to our country by governing the Transvaal. It is a country where we have chosen most unwisely—I am tempted to say insanely—to place ourselves in the strange predicament of the free subjects of a monarchy going to coerce the free subjects of a Republic, and to compel them to accept a citizenship which they decline and refuse. But if that is to be done, it must be done by force."

For two years the Boers continued their passive resistance by meetings, protests, and memorials. When the Liberal party came into power they hoped that their country would be restored to them. In May, 1880, they sent their last memorial to Mr. Gladstone, then prime minister. In it they said they were confident that one day, by the mercy of the Lord, the reins of the Imperial Government would be entrusted again to men who would sustain the honor and glory of England, not by acts of injustice and crushing force, but by justice and good faith. They appealed to him to do justice by rescinding the annexation and reinstating in its full vigor the Sand River Convention.

In reply, Mr. Gladstone informed them that for various reasons "our judgment is that the Queen cannot be advised to relinquish her sovereignty over the Transvaal." Failing to get their wrongs redressed even by the Liberals, and seeing that all their appeals to the British sense of justice and fair play were useless, they took up arms, in December, 1880, to regain their independence. In a blue book published during the war appeared a despatch from the Administrator of the Transvaal to the effect that the Boers were still in favor of British rule, and that they had been coerced into fighting by a minority.

But there was a limit even to the credulity of the British public, and this misrepresentation had little effect. The bravery displayed by the Boers showed that the charge of cowardice so often made was anything but accurate, and many began to see that they had been misled and deceived in reference to the other matters. So when the Government offered terms, notwithstanding the defeats of its forces, the country generally supported it, and if the ministry had had the courage frankly to admit that the annexation had been brought about by fraud and misrepresentation, had withdrawn the proclamation taking over the country, and had returned to the conditions that existed before such an unwarranted interference, they would have got out of an unfortunate position in a dignified manner. Such a solution would have been consistent, and the constituencies would probably have supported them. The moral law is as binding upon nations as it is upon individuals, and as the Government was satisfied that the annexation was impolitic and unjust, it was morally incumbent upon it to give back a country so unjustly acquired, and to offer compensation for every illegal and unjustifiable act.

Instead of doing this, the British Government did not even carry out the terms of the preliminary treaty of peace. A Royal Commission was appointed which drew up a new Convention, several clauses of which were contrary to the conditions signed by the military leaders, and this convention was forced upon the Triumvirate, Messrs. Pretorius, Krüger, and Joubert. These gentlemen signed it rather than take the responsibility of beginning another war. This new treaty had to be ratified by the Volksraad within three months; but when that body met it refused to ratify the Convention, and instructed the Triumvirate to resume negotiations with the British Government in order to have certain objectionable clauses withdrawn and others modified. A telegram was sent to Mr. Gladstone stating:

> "Triumvirate instructed by Volksraad to apprise you that in their opinion the Convention is contrary to Treaty of Sand River. The Convention is in many respects an open breach of the peace agreement between Sir E. Wood and the Boer leaders, who, trusting that the principles laid down there would be executed, laid down their arms."

Then followed objections to the suzerainty established by the Convention, and to other clauses which constituted breaches of the treaty of peace. The British Government replied:

> "The Convention having been signed by the leaders who entered into the peace treaty, Her Majesty's Government cannot consider any proposition to amend the Convention before the same has been ratified and its practical working has been properly tested."

The Boers were now forced either to ratify or fight. At last, at the request of Lord Kimberley, they consented provisionally to ratify the Convention and give it a trial rather than continue a war between the two white races, which would undermine "the common welfare of all the states and colonies of South Africa." This was a rather unsatisfactory ending of the controversy, and caused irritation and strained relations between the two governments. The British native policy in the Transvaal had been scandalous. There were more native wars and bloodshed during the three years the British held the country than during the thirty years that the Boers had previously governed it. The conduct of some of the British officials appointed was anything but reputable.

When the British took over the country they could find no wrongs to the natives that required to be redressed ; but when the Boers took it back again the Volksraad had to order the release of hundreds of natives who had been illegally apprenticed for fifteen years. This wrong done to natives by the British magistrates had to be righted by the Boers. In the 1883 blue book the humiliating admission was made by the ex-British officials that these things were true, and all they could plead in extenuation was that nearly all the natives apprenticed ran away, so that there could not have been many for the Boer Government to liberate.

Although the Volksraad provisionally ratified the Convention of 1881, they still continued to assert their rights, pointing out that by solemn treaty Britain had agreed to recognize the full and complete freedom of the Republic. By an almost unprecedented breach of international law their country had been annexed on false pretences, notwithstanding the protests of the Government and of the people, and they never would be satisfied till a treaty on the lines of the Sand River Convention was again granted. They repudiated the suzerainty imposed upon them against their consent, declaring it as much a wrong as the sovereignty. By reason of this agitation, as well as of the strained relations which existed in consequence between the two governments, Lord Derby, in August, 1883, agreed to receive a deputation from the Transvaal. Accordingly Messrs. Krüger, Smit, and Du Toit met the British minister in London in the autumn of that year. After several interviews and a long correspondence, occupying over three months, an almost entirely new Convention was agreed on. Lord Derby, in sending the final draft to the deputation, said :

> "I now submit for your perusal a draft of the new Convention which Her Majesty's Government proposes in substitution for the Convention of Pretoria . . . By the omission of those articles of the Convention of Pretoria which assigned to Her Majesty and to the British Resident certain specific powers and functions connected with the internal government and the foreign relations of the Transvaal State, your Government will be left free to govern the country without interference, and to conduct its diplomatic intercourse, and shape its foreign policy subject only to the requirement . . . that any treaty with a foreign state shall not have effect without the approval of the Queen."

Lord Derby printed both the Pretoria Convention and the proposed one together, striking out all that was to be left out of the Pretoria one, both as far as preamble and articles were concerned. In the new treaty the old name of the Republic, the "South African Republic," is used instead of the term "Transvaal State," used in the Convention of 1881. A new treaty with a new preamble and new articles replaced the Pretoria Convention; the old one was only to remain in force till the new one was ratified by the Volksraad. When this had been done, the Pretoria treaty of 1881 was null and void, and the Transvaal Republic again began its career as an international state.

It has been contended by some that, as treaties made with foreign states required the sanction of the Queen, the Republic was not a sovereign, international state. Belgium is a sovereign state, yet there are, by treaty, limitations of its powers; Russia is a sovereign state, yet, by treaty, it was prevented from having warships in its own waters, *i.e.*, in the Black Sea. To give a special right to any other state, whether it be in policy or in commerce, does not hinder a country from being a sovereign state; and since war has again occurred, the British Government has recognized its international status by intimation to the neutral powers.

New gold-reefs were discovered in the Witwatersrand in 1886, and a large town was established there, Johannesburg. The gold law adopted by the Republic was the most generous in the world. All the state lands were thrown open to any one, citizen or alien, to peg out claims; and where gold was discovered on private farms, these farms were declared public gold fields, the owner only being allowed to peg out a small part for himself, about a tenth, the remainder being thrown open to all. In private farms one-half of the license duties was given to the owner. There was no royalty, only a license duty of a pound a month per acre; and under these conditions, as the reefs were rich, a large alien population soon came into the country.

In 1894 some trouble arose through the commandeering of a number of British subjects to serve in one of the native wars, and in reference to this Sir Henry Loch, the High Commissioner, visited Pretoria, when the Transvaal President agreed to give up his right to commandeer the British. At this time a conspiracy was on foot to take over the country from the Boers, in which Sir Henry Loch was concerned, although at the time he was the guest of the Republic and represented a friendly state. This fact was discovered the following year when the conspiracy had culminated in the Jameson Raid, and the private papers of the conspirators had been seized. In these papers an account is given of two interviews between the High Commissioner and one of the principal leaders, Mr. Lionel Phillips. The want of arms was the reason given for the High Commissioner not assisting, as he is said to have stated plainly that if there had been 3,000 rifles and ammunition here he would certainly have come over. Sir Henry Loch practically admitted his guilt in a speech in Parliament.

At the end of 1895 the world was startled by the raid into the Transvaal by the Administrator and the forces of the neighboring British colony of Rhodesia, and by the false allegations about the women and children. The raid was frustrated, and the Transvaal Government acted with great magnanimity both toward the foreign invaders and the internal conspirators. The rank and file of the invading army were at once liberated; the officers were sent home to be punished for their crime. The actions of the British Government since that time, and the continuance of the conspiracy by the principal plotters, indicate how this generosity was appreciated and repaid. The criminals were received by the patriots and the peerage as unfortunate heroes. The influence of a large section of the press and of the most powerful section of society was used to secure an acquittal, but the Lord Chief Justice prevented the trial from being a farce. Much worse was the investigation by a Committee of the House of Commons, on which Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary for the Colonies, sat as a member.

The Government of the Republic had published telegrams and letters found among the papers of Jameson and of the commander of the forces, Sir John Willoughby, showing that the secretary of the High Commissioner, the prime minister of the Cape Colony, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, several of the most important Colonial officials, and even the Secretary of the Colonies himself, were aware of the plot and had more or less aided it. The solicitor of the Chartered Company was examined as to the contents of the telegrams which it was asserted proved the complicity of Mr. Chamberlain. He refused to produce them or the correspondence between himself and the Colonial office on the subject. On his refusal to furnish this evidence, the Committee ceased its investigation, and the farce ended in a report which the Secretary for the Colonies signed, and a day or two afterward practically repudiated in a speech in Parliament.

Mr. Chamberlain and some of the other members of the Committee used the inquiry to make a grossly unfair attack on the Transvaal Government, which was not represented. These occurrences convinced the Transvaal of its serious danger, and it at once began to arm, in the spirit of the proclamation of William of Orange: "If you will have our country, take it, but it shall be over our bodies and the ash heaps of our property and goods." The clique of cosmopolitan capitalists who had organized the plot of 1895 were tried, and five were condemned to death, but this sentence was commuted into a fine. These conspirators now formed themselves into a syndicate and purchased two-thirds of the South African newspapers. They brought out journalists from London at large salaries to run them; and these men began to flood the African and British papers with misrepresentation of fact and slanders against the Government of the Republic in order to excite public opinion against it. The number of aliens in the Transvaal was grossly overestimated, and the number of Boers as absurdly underestimated. As Johannesburg was the centre of the distributing trade, they claimed that it paid the bulk of the taxation, although a large proportion of the goods imported there was consumed all over the country. The leading articles of the papers owned by the conspirators were sent to London as South African opinion, and thus receiving official sanction began to be accepted. A political association, the South African League, was also organized, which aided the journalists in this work.

At this moment the Edgar case gave this association an opportunity to delude the public as to the condition of aliens in the Transvaal, and was made the pretext for sending a petition to the Queen which purported to be signed by over 20,000 British subjects. The facts of the case were as follows: Edgar was coming home the worse for drink, and met three other Englishmen named Shepherd, Sylvester, and Foster, near his residence. He quarrelled with Foster and knocked him down; the other two Englishmen called for the police, and, attracted by their cries, four policemen came up and found Foster lying unconscious on the ground. Shepherd gave Edgar in charge for committing murder. Edgar refused to open his door or admit the police, and when they proceeded to burst open the door, he savagely assaulted the leading policeman, named Jones, with a loaded cane. After the second blow, Jones drew his revolver and shot Edgar. Foster never recovered from the effects of the assault, and died in a week or two. The policeman was tried for manslaughter; the jury unanimously brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide, and the judge concurred with the jury. This was the "brutal murder of Edgar" for which Mr. Chamberlain wanted compensation from the Transvaal Government, and which proved how very badly that country was governed.

From the time of the parliamentary inquiry regarding the Jameson Raid, Mr. Chamberlain was constantly complaining about the acts of the Transvaal Government, their legislation regarding undesirable aliens, the dynamite monopoly, the press law, their signing the Geneva Convention, their not submitting treaties to him before they were completed. All these and other things were breaches of the Convention. The Transvaal Government held that they had in all the cases in question acted within their rights, and proposed that all questions in dispute should be referred to arbitration. In his reply in 1897, Mr. Chamberlain refused to submit to arbitration, on the ground that the Republic was a subject state, and that the preamble of the 1881 Convention still existed. This view originated with a smart solicitor in Johannesburg, who, looking at the treaty only, and without knowing anything of the correspondence, contended that as it specified that the articles only were replaced the preamble still remained. Upon this construction he held that British subjects could be both citizens of the Republic and subjects of the Queen. A despatch of Lord Ripon's in 1894 settled that question, but Mr. Chamberlain now urged this contention to prevent the matters at issue being settled by arbitration.

The Transvaal had a single Chamber only till 1891, when a new constitution was adopted, dividing the legislative power between a First and Second Volksraad, but giving the greater power to the first. Any alien after two years' residence could naturalize and have the right to vote for the Second Chamber, as well as for the magistrates and for other local officials, but he had to be in the country for fourteen years before he could vote for the First Volksraad and for the President. Early in 1899, President Krüger proposed to reduce the period from fourteen years to nine, and in May he met the High Commissioner at Bloemfontein, when that gentleman urged that all aliens should have every electoral right in five years. The President thought five years too soon, but proposed to reduce the period to seven years, if the British Government would agree to have the questions at issue between the two governments determined by arbitration. The British would not consent to this course, and the Bloemfontein Conference proved abortive.

In July, the Volksraad passed the bill conferring the franchise for the Second Chamber in two years and for the First Chamber five years afterward, or electoral rights for both Chambers in seven years; and the law was made retrospective, so that all who had been seven years in the country could be fully enfranchised. Mr. Chamberlain desired that a joint commission should be appointed representing both governments to see if this new law would give a fair representation to the alien population. The Transvaal pointed out that as the aliens had six months under the law to determine whether or not they would become citizens of the Republic, till such time had elapsed it could not know the number of persons who would become citizens or where they would be.

But the Transvaal further proposed that if the British would drop the claim of suzerainty, would not make this a precedent for interfering in the internal affairs of the Republic, and would allow all matters in dispute to be settled by arbitration, it would still further amend the law in order that the franchise for both Raads could be got in five years, with a vote for President, and one-fourth of all the seats in both Raads for the gold fields. This proposal was refused by the British Government, although Mr. Chamberlain asserted in the House of Commons that he intended to send an acceptance or a qualified acceptance. Yet, a couple of days before sending the despatch he made a threatening speech at Birmingham, using very irritating and provocative phrases regarding the President and his Government. On receiving this despatch the Transvaal agreed to the British proposal for a joint commission. But now Mr. Chamberlain refused to carry out his own proposal, and demanded in a threatening despatch that the Transvaal Government should carry out the internal legislation he had asked them to do, or he would propose still further drastic measures.

During this correspondence the British troops in South Africa were constantly being increased, and officers were sent out to organize irregular forces. The troops were massed on the borders of the Free State and the Transvaal. The President of the Free State pointed out the bad effect this was having on the Boers, and offered his good offices to bring about an arrangement between the two Governments, but wanted especially to know what the British demands were. The High Commissioner sent only short abstracts of these communications to England; and the British Cabinet never gave the Free State President the information he desired as to their policy, but continued their preparations for war. At last they called out the reserves and summoned Parliament to meet for the purpose of voting the money. Two days after this act the Transvaal sent an ultimatum demanding that all the questions should be settled by arbitration, that the troops threatening them on their borders should be withdrawn, and that no more troops should be landed in South Africa. The British refused, and war was begun by the two Republics invading Natal. The Boers were determined not to be caught like rats in a hole. Remembering the Jameson Raid, they expected another attack on their independence, and they determined to strike a good blow for their national existence. If their nationality was to be destroyed, it would be, as President Krüger put it, at a price that would stagger humanity.

The British are now carrying on their fourth Boer war, and with what result so far is known; but the British are forty millions and the Boers are less than a quarter of a million, and ultimately, unless there are foreign complications, numbers and weight will prevail. When military supremacy has been established, the political settlement will test the ability and the wisdom of the British statesmen. The Afrikanders are not a dying race; the 30,000 of 1814 are now nearly 500,000, and any settlement not in accordance with their ideas of justice will not be of a permanent character. To turn these Republics into Crown colonies will be difficult; and to have thousands of sullen, hostile subjects who will only wait till the British are in difficulties elsewhere in order to strike again for their national life is not a condition of things that will strengthen the British Empire.

When the British recognize that the Afrikanders are a nation, and respect their rights as they respect those of the American Republic, then, but not till then, will the South African problem be solved, and that goodwill and friendly feeling between Briton and Boer, so necessary for the peace and prosperity of South Africa, be restored.

G. B. Clark.

UNCLE SAM'S LEGACY OF SLAVES.

A GENIAL French critic of American manners has said that no American can see a condition of every-day life in dissonance with what Carlyle calls the eternal fitness of things without an impulse to reform it ; never, by chance, doubting his ability to do so. Some such impulse has urged many of us to discuss the future of the slaves who have fallen by legacy, as it were, along with other fixtures of the Philippine Islands, into the legal control of the United States. Some feel that it is impossible to treat with the Sultan of Sulu, or to assume sovereignty over the Moros, or in any way to accept these Mussulmans as Americans *in esse* or *in posse*, without instantly freeing their slaves. Others say that slavery in the Philippines has a quality of harmlessness which calls for no urgent remedy, if it does not let us ignore it altogether.

Few would rest content were the United States to sully its fame as the champion of freedom by allowing any form of the slave trade within its possessions ; but there is a difference between stopping the slave trade among the Moros and giving freedom to slaves now in the hands of the Moros. The question of our duty in the latter is the one touched by the alleged benign quality of the slavery in which these men and women are held. Our information upon the subject is vague. We have been asked to accept ready-made opinions about the harmlessness of the Moro form of slavery, without any evidence, except the universal testimony of Mussulmans who ought to know, but are interested parties. It is needless, however, for us to accept the judgment of others while we can have access to many details in regard to the question, and can discover its relation to other questions in those little known regions. A little effort in gathering facts will help us to arrive at a just and wise solution of the problem.

With Mohammedans the general principles of slavery are everywhere the same ; being clearly set forth in the sacred law of Islam. By looking, then, at the application of these principles in better known Mohammedan countries, we may infer the quality of the slavery existing among the brevet Americans of the Sulu Islands.

Suppose, for instance, that we admit the duty—dropped upon our shoulders like a prophet's mantle from the clouds—of reforming the Moros by suppressing slavery among them. We might, indeed, end the business at once by declaring the Moro slaves free, after the fashion of President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, were it not that such a proclamation has never moved Mohammedan slaveholders elsewhere. Under pressure from Europe the slave trade has been prohibited by Mohammedan rulers in Egypt and in Turkey. But Orientals have solved the problem of eating their cake and having it too. They are past masters in the art of yielding a point for the sake of interest, and, at the same time, for the sake of interest in some other direction, managing that all shall be as before. Notwithstanding the abolition of the slave trade in those regions slaves are daily sold in Constantinople and in Cairo, while hardly a passenger steamer plies between ports on the Eastern Mediterranean without aiding in the transportation of slaves. The slaves are simply registered upon the books as the "family" of the dealer, and thus inquiry is silenced. Lack of language and the silly dread of Europeans with which the dealers fill their minds keep the slaves themselves from complaining during the journey.

Several reasons unite to make edicts abolishing the slave trade seem like waste paper to the common, every-day Muslim. Such edicts are of human enactment, while slavery is defended by Divine precept. The anomaly, seen in some Mohammedan countries, of two codes of law and two classes of courts, side by side, is due to the needs of a considerable non-Mohammedan population, which naturally will not ascribe Divine authority to Muslim law. Police and criminal cases in general, and private causes concerning Mohammedans, except those relating to landed property and inheritances, are judged in the civil courts. Questions pertaining to landed property, to inheritances, to chattel mortgages, and to relations between Muslims are judged in the courts of Canon law. All matters respecting the treatment and the rights of slaves fall naturally into the latter category. This curious system originated with Sultan Suleiman the Great, of Turkey, in the sixteenth century, and is found in all Mohammedan lands then included in the Turkish empire. In order to save the conscience of the devout Mohammedan the civil law is fortified by the "Mejele," an abstract of the sacred law made especially for the guidance of judges of civil courts. But the two jurisdictions often clash, and in such cases the Canon law overrides the civil code.

I once saw a slave-woman leap from a steamer in mid-Bosphorus, at Constantinople. She had lived fifteen years with her master; but he had sold her to another man, and she objected to the transfer, preferring to drown herself. The steamer was stopped, and the woman was rescued and carried to the police station. There the whole story came out, and the woman was immediately set free. The case seemed to be a vindication of the proclamation against the slave trade, until one learned that this proclamation was not even remembered by the authorities. The woman was freed under a provision of the sacred law which makes the manumission of the woman the penalty to be suffered by a slave-owner who sells the mother of his child.

The same difficulty arises in the case of fugitive slaves. A good Muslim judge cannot do otherwise than help the slave-owner. To restore a fugitive slave to his owner is made by the sacred law a religious duty to every Mussulman who has the strength to hold the runaway. And the law emphasizes the duty by specifying the amount of reward, per day's journey travelled, which is due to the one who thus thrusts a slave back into slavery. Hence, although the edict makes the slave-owner a criminal, the courts see nothing against public morals in hearing charges made by slave-owners against fugitive slaves. A slave-woman is charged with theft: she ran away with the clothes she had on. The judge tells her that for this crime she is liable to one year's imprisonment; but her owner is magnanimous, and he will not press the charge if she will promise to be good in the future. The best thing that she can do, therefore, is to accept the forgiveness of so kind a master. The result is foreseen.

It has often been noticed that public opinion among Muslims seems to ignore the value of the individual who is below a certain level in society. This curious trait prevents anti-slavery edicts—alien to the atmosphere in which they are promulgated—from carrying weight in the minds of the people. Even the courts seem to lack regard for the rights of a person of a despised and, perhaps, degraded class. A man was brought into court, for instance, on a charge of having sold his two daughters, aged seventeen and nineteen years, respectively, and having then stolen them back. He was punished; but it was for stealing slaves, not for selling his daughters.

The difficulty about remembering the edict against the slave trade was illustrated a few years ago by a little incident which occurred at Constantinople. One of the Turkish daily papers casually said that the Criminal Court had that day sentenced a man for fraud in trading a woman for a diamond brooch. A French paper of the city copied this item, heading it, "The Slave Trade." The title was sufficient comment. Now it happens sometimes that Mohammedans unconsciously measure their acts by the standards of moral excellence in vogue in Christian countries. This sensitiveness to European public opinion is sometimes so acute as to lead a man to change his conduct in the street or the market-place, provided he can grasp the precise point criticised. So the next day the prosecutor of the brooch-trade fraud wrote to the French paper defending his complaint to the court. The woman was not worth the money paid; he had given a valuable brooch on misrepresentation of her value; and from these facts he hoped the Frenchman would see that there was no reason for the suit to be stigmatized as unusual or unreasonable.

In publishing the letter, the French editor remarked that the trial was a revelation not without interest to his readers, and that the letter was of the same interesting and enlightening nature. Such veiled criticism was still more unintelligible to the Turkish people, and their own papers came to the rescue with a semi-official note, which made known the facts. According to this note the action of the court was perfectly regular and above criticism. The woman for whom the diamond brooch had been given was a confirmed malcontent, who had several times run away. Her owner had not only concealed this fact, but had represented her to the purchaser as docile and thoroughly domesticated. Hence his punishment for fraud was justified by the evidence. Upon this the French editor explained himself. He referred to the lack of feeling for the rights of a poor woman to whom slavery was intolerable, but pointed out that the interest of the case lay in its revelation that the slave trade still existed in the city, and hence that the court had ignored the existence of a decree by which that trade had been abolished—a shaft that made the prosecutor and his friends realize how an excuse sometimes reveals the fault, and wish that they had kept their mouths shut.

Since in Mohammedan countries such causes generally nullify edicts and proclamations against a usage fortified by antiquity and sanctified by religious approval, there is no ground to suppose that the result would be different among the Moros. Any proclamation of our civil authorities against the divinely ordained customs of the Sulu Islands would be like a papal Bull against a comet—the one as futile as the other, since no possible point of contact can be attained.

Now if the Moros thus refuse to yield to the spirit of the age, the average American citizen will be apt to clench his teeth and say, "Then we will force them to obey." Just views of the rights of man have broken up the basis of slavery by exploding the theory that the victor in war has a right to dispose of the life of the vanquished. Slavery has thus lost its initial *raison d'être*, and it would be monstrous to allow a petty group of antediluvians to disregard the fact that the world moves. But with Mohammedans slavery has not yet lost the support of its origin. If we argue that it has been deprived of moral support, we may meet the difficulty of the father who was expatiating on moral suasion in dealing with children. "My first boys," said he, "I raised with a shingle. But," he continued, pointing to a ten-year-old prodigy on the other side of the room, "that boy I hain't never licked once." The speech was effective until the small boy added, "And yer darsen't, nuther." The Moros will simply resist our interference in their domestic affairs.

It would be a mistake, however, to ascribe such action on the part of the Moros to the assurance peculiar to immaturity, or solely to the antiquity of the customs of Asia and the inertia of her people. Resistance on the part of the Moros will rest upon logically organized grounds. For wherever it is found that Asiatic customs remain obstinately insoluble in the presence of the strong solvent of contact with Western civilization, we may be pretty sure that the great prophet of Mecca may be thanked for it. The very circumstances of the origin of Islam may help us to gauge its power to resist change. No one regards, as of modern invention, its general system of political economy, its domineering attitude toward the common people, its delegation of responsibility for them to the leading men or chiefs of families or tribes, and its unwavering ascription of divine inspiration to the chief ruler or king, standing at an immeasurable height above the masses.

The curious details of this system have been noted often in Mohammedan countries. The custom of speaking of the common people as "the foot-herd"; the habit of describing the assumption of individuality by any man among them as "showing the head"; the tendency to resent such independent thought on the Donnybrook Fair principle of "wherever you see a head, hit it"; and the notion of conversion in religion as something akin to the obedience of an unreasoning mass to a command—all these traits are familiar to those who have travelled among Muslims. So, too, is the theory which makes the nation consist of dignitaries of the king's appointment and of such other leading men as have positions justifying their reception at court, and the application to them, in the language of official ceremonial, of the title "Men of the Nation" (Rejjal). Familiar to travellers in Muslim countries, also, is the custom of repressing evil tendencies among the masses by arresting or otherwise disposing of their leading men. And so, again, is the usage which sustains the ruler or king in absolute and unquestioned supremacy by always mentioning his decrees in court records as "inspired."

It is a long leap from the Sulu Islands of to-day to the priest-kings of Western Asia at the time of Melchizedek. Yet that ancient type of despot, drawing wisdom directly from on high, has ever been the model of Asiatic sovereigns, and, in degree, of minor chiefs also. The ancient political economy of Asia, too, did not stop to analyze the mass of common people, but rated them as a herd. The cheapness of the unit of population is seen from the ancient records which dispose of whole tribes by the name of one man, as if he were the only one of the lot worth noticing. Such leading men, or chiefs, were the only ones held in mind as the nation; and the individuals of the general herd gained what value they had from their relations with the great men who could stand before the King. The theory of such a system, if it did not originate, at least corresponded with that of the Greeks as expounded by Aristotle when referring to the outside barbarians: "To us belongs dominion over the barbarians because we have the understanding to rule; they, the body only to obey."

Individually the common people were negligible atoms; the idea of rights for them did not exist; they were born to be mere slaves. In fact, the atmosphere of the system was impregnated with slavery. At any moment a king could reduce a great mass of people to servitude, whether within his own dominions or by expeditions victorious abroad, by seizing the leading men, to whom the people looked for brains. By this means whole nations were hurled into desolate corners of the continent when an autocrat took a whim to people such wastes, or were thrust into slavery as soldiers, or as laborers for public works, or as retainers to enhance the state of men whom the king "delighted to honor." Not much loss was there when such unthinking atoms fell into slavery; but there was gain in the stupendous works erected by this means—works whose ruins still astonish the world. Perhaps the grandeur of the results of the system helped to gild the acts of these kings of old with the quality of being above criticism, like the decrees of Providence. At all events the divine inspiration of the ruler is an essential element of the system, and so is the brainless nonentity of the common man.

How little the Asiatic social system was changed by contact with Rome appears in the changes in the Roman empire which it originated. It had changed but little up to the seventh century of our era. Then, in the Koran, and in the oral comments upon it of the Prophet Mohammed, the system was suddenly embalmed in all essentials and with sufficient detail to prevent its purport being mistaken for all time. These traditional comments of the Prophet settle all questions of interpretation for his followers, and form the basis of the existing body of the Mohammedan sacred law. This law is like the Talmud in structure, and is probably indebted to it—in fact, it might almost serve as an ancient commentary on the Ten Commandments given to Moses, if one could be induced to accept its vagaries of deduction. It is magnificent in scope.

One can form some idea of the wide field of this law by imagining a thousand or so of folio pages upon the duties of man: beginning with belief in God; proceeding through worship and its rites and liturgies and ceremonial observances, and through all relationships of family life, to limitations of private rights; dealing with misdemeanors, crimes, foreign relations, commerce and trade, loans, bankruptcies, trusts, contracts and attorneyship, wills and testaments, finally to wind up with detailed arithmetical solutions of problems of inheritance. Embracing the consensus of opinion of learned commentators during the first few centuries of the struggle of Islam for life, it has sought by its keen and hair-splitting logic to settle beforehand every public and private complication—religious, social, moral—possible in the life of man. It comes as a guide to a people without thinking apparatus, and leaves no detail of private life outside of its learned discussions. In the chapter on ceremonial purification, for instance, it goes so far as to say that people who abandon the use of the toothbrush ought to be put to the sword without further inquiry into their moral character. It frankly admits inconsistencies or apparent contradictions, and then wins the sympathy of its readers by arranging in order the various conflicting explanations of the difficulty, disposing of the whole by the pious phrase, "And which of these opinions is right is known to God, the All-Wise, alone."

Next to the sweep of vision of this body of law one is struck by its sweep of influence. In all of its declarations of right, duty, and prohibition, a sentence cannot be found which is not accompanied by a quotation from the word of God (according to the Koran), from the oral tradition of the sayings of the Prophet, or by a citation of his own personal practice. This makes each of its dicta religiously obligatory upon all Mohammedans, imparts a majestic catholicity to all its utterances, and furnishes to all a complete and clearly defined scheme of life. It is the pride of Islam that Divine omniscience has foreseen everything, and has provided in advance a groove, unchangeable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, in which the acts and social relations of mankind must move until the end of the world. To outgrow the provisions of such a law is impossible; to think of improving them is blasphemy. The whole of this law is prepared from the standpoint of the divinely inspired Asiatic despot, and is addressed to men whom it becomes to be fraternal in relations with one another, and paternal in kindness toward a great mass of subordinates.

As individuals, the common people are so completely lost to view that in Arabic or Turkish or Persian the only word which can be used to express the idea of a republic means "mob-government," and is the one commonly used in speaking of the United States. By defining in almost every chapter rights which slaves have not, the law shows some rights which pertain to common people who are not slaves. But at the same time it nullifies any theory which does not contemplate slavery, or which may ascribe to slaves an inherent right to be free. In short, the ancient usages of Mesopotamia rest upon the shoulders of Mohammedans everywhere as a divine revelation to the race in regard to the line of seeking the supreme Good. The antiquity of this social system may give color among Muslims to the belief that it is the divinely appointed order of human affairs. At all events, having been once published to the world as of divine origin, it cannot be changed, or taken from its position as the ideal which men should strive to reach, without setting aside the prophet who published it. Cunningly devised casuistry can do almost anything; but it cannot in the long run circumvent the purpose of a book like the Koran, respecting which the only question for doubt or discussion is whether it has been eternally coexistent with God, or whether, like other beautiful things of the earth, it is, in its present literary form, one of God's works of creation.

The almost impregnable position of slavery established behind these legal defences needs not to be emphasized. But the value of the institution has also been impressed upon the people by all history. Leaving out of account the powerful support, already referred to, which is given to slavery by the harem method of family life, it has always been regarded as one of the foundation-stones of national power, even as it was of the power of the ancient kings of Assyria and Persia. The command of the sacred law to enslave the families of non-Mohammedan enemies—the wives and children and such of the men as might be spared for the sake of useful work—gave to Islam, in the Janissaries of Turkey and the Mamelukes of Egypt, the finest soldiers it has ever possessed. In the brightest days of these celebrated corps each one of the soldiers represented a broken heart among the enemies of Islam, since every one was a slave-child, born an enemy of the state which his right arm helped to its triumphs. Even in the time of Decatur and Lord Exmouth, in the first quarter of the present century, this same divine institution made slave-hunters from Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers the terror of travellers on the Mediterranean. The story of Neufeld and of Slatin Pasha, and of their fellow-sufferers at Omdurman, as well as the bloody records of the Arab slave-hunters of Central Africa, prove that lack of opportunity and not change of time-honored principles gives Europeans to-day immunity from a similar reign of terror.

Our arguments on the injustice of slavery or our proofs of its ruinous effects upon the people who maintain it cannot even be heard by Mohammedans. We may by force stop slave-raiding in Sulu ; and the Moros will admit that we have the right to do so, as we have the right to stop other forms of war, if we have the power. But any attempt to release by force, from the houses of the people, slaves whom these Mohammedans have obtained in regular conformity to their religious law, and who form part of the family life which that law has consecrated, would be an attack upon the Mohammedan religion itself, to be resisted with the fiercest wrath of fanaticism by a general appeal to arms, whether made in Central Africa, in Turkey, or in the Sulu Islands.

Clearly, then, a large army will be needed if we seek to coerce the Moros into freeing the slaves now in their hands. But some who have had dealings with the Moros say that all this anxiety to clear ourselves from reproach is needless. Mohammedan slavery is not slavery as we understand it. Much can be said in favor of this opinion. Glimpses of slavery in Mohammedan lands are far from repellent. I once asked a Turkish friend with whom I was walking to point out to me some specimens of slaves in the crowd on the streets. We met a party of veiled Turkish women. Walking behind them was a girl of ten, plainly but comfortably dressed, and carrying a bundle wrapped in an embroidered cloth. The bundle was so large that the slender little arms could hardly encircle it, and there was a sense of relief when the ladies hailed a cab, and entered it—little girl, big bundle, and all. "That little girl is a slave," said my friend. "It is the cheapest way of getting help for the house. She is treated almost like a daughter; does what work she can about the house; carries parcels in the street; runs errands to the baker and the grocer; and goes to school when she has nothing else to do. Her work pays for her keep; and when she has grown there is sure to be some one willing to buy her." The lot of that little slave was certainly better than that of many a child of the slums in our cities.

A carriage came whirling by, drawn by a pair of noble horses, and with two servants riding on horseback behind. It stopped a little in front of us. The coachman leaped to the ground, and the servants hastily dismounted, one of them opening the door of the carriage. A negro stepped out and passed into a shop, profoundly saluted by passers in the street as well as by the three servants. He was black as ebony, with very high cheek-bones, very small eyes, and very thick lips. But he was tall, and held his head like a field marshal. "That man is a slave," said my friend. "Which one?" I asked, looking from one to the other of the three servants. "Why, the negro who came in the carriage," said my friend; "these fellows are his servants, but he himself belongs to some very high personage, and has charge of the women: probably he is chief of the slaves in some very great house." One cannot find much to pity in the lot of a slave who rides about in his coach.

A little farther on we were crowded to the wall of the ill-paved, narrow street by another carriage, occupied by three Turkish ladies. Their faces were covered by the thin white "yashmak," now used on full-dress occasions only. The one who sat alone on the back seat might have been a Scotch lassie, so fair was her hair. Diamonds flashed from some ornament adjusted among the pretty tangles. Her eyes were blue as the placid Bosphorus; her complexion was like alabaster; and on her well-gloved hands diamond rings were conspicuously placed. After the carriage had left us more space, my friend remarked: "Those three women are all probably slaves. The one behind is somebody's favorite, and the two in front are her maids. And here is another slave," he added, nodding with a smile toward a wrinkled old negress dressed in faded clothing and wearing a white veil thrown loosely over her head. She sat on a bit of carpet spread by the wayside, and offered for sale what seemed to be molasses-candy arranged round the sides of a small flat basket. "She is too old to be of further use, and she has hired herself from her master. She is glad to pay him a dollar or two a month for the sake of being free from his control, and he is glad to be rid of her." This slave, too, poor old wreck of a gilded youth as she was, seemed content with her lot. At least she could breathe out in peace the remaining years of her life.

These are types of Mohammedan slavery ; and such a type also was the woman who leaped into the sea rather than leave for a stranger the man whom perhaps she loved. The experience of these slaves may be duplicated in any Mohammedan country, and even among the Moros, after making allowance for peculiarities of local usage. So far as they go they illustrate the character of the Mohammedan precepts relating to the treatment of slaves.

The basic principle of these precepts I heard from a preacher in a Mohammedan mosque. He was a venerable gentleman in long robes and a white turban, seated cross-legged on a thick cushion in a kind of long-legged arm-chair, as he discoursed upon four capital sins. He explained that these sins were of a class which could not be expiated by alms or other good deeds, but must be punished by torment in hell for a time proportionate to the offence. The old man would have won the hearty allegiance of many æsthetic souls in this country when he stated that two of these most heinous sins were the cutting of forest trees and the blasting of virgin rock. "For either practice destroys forms which God has created and declared to be good."

Another capital sin was the slaughter of animals. The preacher's ideas dimly suggested some ancient solution of the problem of Israel's sin after Saul's victory at Michmash ; for he said that slaughter in sacrifice of animals required for food is the method of escape from sin while providing meat for the household. The fourth of the good old man's capital sins was the purchase and sale of human beings ! His denunciation of this awful crime, and his fury in picturing the labors of demons in the stoke-holes of Gehenna to prepare punishment adequate for it, were beyond belief. His words would have gladdened the heart of the most ardent abolitionist, until, by bringing casuistry to the help of the distressed consciences of his hearers, he reminded one of the fact that all Oriental utterances have two sides. For he added : "To possess slaves by the strength of the right arm, in war for the faith, or by lawful inheritance, does not make a servant of God guilty of this crime. Nor is the purchase of slaves wrong where the intention is to receive them into the family and treat them with kindness." It was some other than the Muslim slave trade which the preacher had been denouncing.

To treat the slave as a member of the family is the central idea of the law which tells the master his duty to his slave. It is an amelioration ; for it implies shelter and sufficient food and clothing. The weakness of the theory appears when it is found to be modified by the master's absolute property right in his slave. The master is supreme judge, so far as the slave is concerned ; and he may enforce his will. The limitation which the law puts upon the flogging of slaves refers to the degree to which a slave may be stripped in order to make the lash effective. But it also advises the master to let the pain of one flogging pass before he administers another. The powers which the law gives to the master require for their just exercise the rarest qualities of manliness. For ourselves, we admit the justice of Portia's remark : "I can easier teach twenty what were good to be done than to be one of twenty to follow mine own teaching." What result, then, can we expect from a Moro tribesman? For the rest, the law is careful to state that the slave has no civil rights : he cannot hold property, inherit, travel or marry without permission, or testify in court. His children are slaves belonging to the owner of the mother. An injury done to the slave by a third party is injury to the slave's master, who may collect indemnity. But an injury done to a slave by the master, even if it cause death, is no concern of the state, since it is an injury to the man's own property.

On the other hand, all this harshness toward the slave is often tempered by a curious and unexpected tenderness. There is a system of partial manumission, by which a master gives his slave the right to work for himself on payment of a regular rental. Such a contract-slave has all the civil rights necessary to the carrying on of business —such as the right to hold property, travel, etc. While he pays the contract price, the slave may not be punished nor sold by his master. But on his failure to pay the rental he returns to his former state and all his property passes to his master. Full manumission is effected by the recital of any one of several prescribed formulæ, even when the master denies any intention to set his slave free. One of these kindly interventions of the law occurs when the master gets drunk. If, while in that state, he says to a slave, "You are my father," or

"You are my mother," the slave is free from that moment. Kindliness also appears in some of the provisions respecting slave-women. If the master acknowledges paternity of the child of a slave, the child is free, and the mother acquires civil rights, although remaining a slave. If, however, the master denies paternity, the slave has no redress.

Such, in its essentials, is the Mohammedan view of the rights and duties of slaves. It gives us the best aspect of the form of slavery with which we have to deal in the Sulu Islands. Full weight should be given to the kindly provisions by which the law cumbrously seeks to lighten the burden of the slave without laying too much self-restraint upon the master. Slaves among the Moros are not quite of the Eliza and Uncle Tom type, and their masters may not be Legrees. Yet the kindliness of the law is the forced kindliness of logical deduction made in a period before the finer feelings of humanity had found development. The natural affections of slaves it cannot appreciate; for their moral sufferings it has no sympathy; and, after all, it is only an ideal, the interpretation of which we must seek in real life.

The harem system generally assures fairly good treatment to those who take care of the women. In a number of cases other men-slaves, too, have reached position and wealth through their slavery. Turkish history mentions many Christian slaves who accepted Mohammedanism and brought real talent to the service of the country as government officials or as generals in the army. Perhaps some may still insist that Mohammedan slavery does not intolerably maltreat men. But its heartless disregard of the most sacred feelings and rights of women cannot thus be passed over. The case of such a little girl as was mentioned above illustrates this side of the question. Such a child is trained as far as possible in accomplishments, and is given care such as perhaps she could not have had in her own home. She becomes really attached to the family; the house is a new home to her. Then, when she is sixteen or seventeen years old, her master changes his attitude, deeming himself bound to her by no bond of sympathy in spite of the long years of close association and mutual service. Torn from the midst of the innocent ambitions and day-dreams of her girlhood, the maiden is sold into slavery.

A Muslim slave-dealer himself told me, with many a chuckle of delight, how he cleared £1,000 net by inducing a disreputable purveyor to decoy or abduct from Austria two girls, whom he carried to India, and sold, under the noses of the English officials, to the ruler of one of the tributary states. He was rather proud, on the whole, of having a religious law that permits such performances. There is much in the law to which Muslims point with pride as showing respect for woman, and an intent to care for her under all circumstances, especially in regard to the rights which she gains through motherhood. But when it deals with her choice of relations in connection with the slave system, it firmly denies her all rights.

Perhaps it is not too much to suggest the hearing of the testimony of the slaves themselves as to the working of this law. One woman whom I questioned took a curious view of the matter. "Ah," she said, "what a beautiful place I used to live in when I was a girl! Trees and flowers and brooks and birds such as you do not see here! But you have no idea of the fright continually caused us by slave-catchers. I could not so much as go to the spring for water unless mother and I both climbed to look all around for a long time before. Then on the way I would go doubled up, lest my head should show above the bushes. And if a leaf rustled or a twig cracked, I would jump just like a deer, and run away, all doubled up. It was hard to lose in one day everybody that I knew. But, after all, it is better to have it over soon. It is better to die once and be done with it, than to die a thousand times by escaping at the last moment and beginning all over again."

The slave merchant I have already mentioned had his regular route from Tripoli, in Africa, to Timbuctoo. In one of our conversations he admitted that the slaves do not like the business. "But," he added, "they get used to it. Besides, what else can I do? Slaves are the only money down there. I take Manchester goods to those people and they have got to pay me. There is no coin, and they give me slaves instead. A slave is a sort of draft on Constantinople or Tripoli or Cairo. I present the draft and get the money which the man in Wadai owes me." While we were talking a bright slave-boy of twelve, plump, well-dressed, and contented, but unable to understand our conversation, was standing by his master. He had, by the way, just been sold to a Turk for fifty pounds, and was about to be delivered over. The slave merchant was describing to me the peculiarities of the various towns and districts along his route, as the names were read to him from a map. As I read the name "Bornu," the black boy's face changed and he covered his face sobbing. The mere mention of the name of his home, without comprehension of what was being said, made the poor child's heart swell as if it would burst. The master tried to soothe the boy, but with small success.

An incident in Prof. Worcester's travels in the Philippines shows the feelings of some of the slaves there toward their treatment by Moros. In a night adventure of a dangerous character in the island of Tawi Tawi, he was able to secure help from the inhabitants, because they were escaped slaves of the Moros, and would do anything to be revenged upon their former masters. Such hard feelings on the part of those who have experienced the practical side of the benign system we have examined are surprising. But we have many statements from Europeans who have had experience of the system elsewhere, formerly among the Algerians, for instance, and latterly among the dervishes of the Soudan.

From both precept and practice we have a sufficiently clear idea of the quality of the slavery with which we have to deal in the Sulu Islands. Even among the savage tribesmen there, it probably has alleviations which were not found in the slave system now purged out of Christendom. Yet it is at best a slightly modified form of a well-known wrong too criminal to be ignored. The problem of dealing with it is perplexing, because the system is too closely linked with the life of the people to be suppressed by edict, and too deeply rooted in the Mohammedan religion to be overthrown by force, unless we are willing to enter upon a religious war. The course to be adopted by the United States toward Moro slavery is perhaps the gravest of the questions raised by our purchase of the Sulu Islands.

As a discussion of this question of policy is not within the scope of this article, I shall conclude with a suggestion. The Moros are a people apart, not as yet amenable to influences which will weigh with other inhabitants of the Philippines. Let them be treated as such. Let the Sulu Islands be classed in the same category as our Indian reservations, to be surrounded by a wall of steel for the safety of neighboring peoples, but to be managed internally by their own chiefs under existing laws and usages. Such a course would accord with the views of General Bates, with the policy of the Spaniards, and especially with the expectations of the Moros themselves. But—and this is important if our consciences are not to be burdened by the acts of these people—until some such system of moral quarantine has educated them to new ideas of justice and equity, let not these tribes be employed (as possibly they have been used in Mindanao) to apply their peculiar methods to the subjugation of insurgents.

HENRY O. DWIGHT.

JOHN RUSKIN.

It is not often that a man of genius sets out to move the world under so heavy a handicap as did Ruskin. The man who would guide the world without being of it, without sharing the common aims of his fellows and making his appeal to their common feeling, needs a giant's strength, and giants have broken their strength in the trial. Ruskin, indeed, was like a man born out of due time, and we may not unfairly call him an anachronism. He brought into the nineteenth century the temper and aspirations of the thirteenth. Born into the atmosphere of British Philistinism and educated in its habits and precepts, he had the spirit of a Dominican brother. If he had been born in the thirteenth century he might have joyfully taken the vows of poverty and renunciation, and would have stirred the hearts and consciences of men—and scourged them, too—with the fiery energy of the Dominicans. Ruskin was a born preacher, with much of the temper of the great Florentine, Savonarola, and with his incapacity for compromise. Of his nineteenth-century Oxford education he could not get rid, so he used it to good purpose; but his sympathies were with the past. He was so ready to engraft that past on the present that when, in his later life, he gave himself over to social reform and established his St. George's Guild, it was avowedly modelled on the social condition of Florence in the fourteenth century. He was, as he tells us in "Praeterita," a violent Tory, a staunch believer in kings and in a social hierarchy. What was such a man to do in this century of democracy, of scepticism, of revolt against authority, of contempt for the past? He was pious; and the world had grown irreverent: he was an idealist; and the world, become practical as never before, scoffed at the ideal: he cared nothing for riches; and found the world given over to the worship of money. He despised politics, hated engineering, detested railways and telegraphs, and great cities with their hurry and bustle, loved jealously the quiet solitude of lakes and mountains, and was in most ways at war with the preferences, aims, and pleasures of modern life.

Ruskin was profoundly religious. His natural gift for exhortation announced itself when, as a child, he used to preach over the sofa cushions at his mother's friends. It had been the dear desire of his parents to bring him up for the Church ; and his father was probably right when he said, with tears in his ambitious eyes, " He would have been a bishop." How successful a bishop he would have made is a question ; for a bishop is an administrator, and one who does not thrive in hot water. If eloquent preaching would have made an able bishop, Ruskin would have done it ; but we can see that his own instinct decided the matter for him better than parental ambition. With a head swarming with ideas and possessed of an eager impulse to exhortation, preach he must. His strong religious instinct was joined to an equally strong instinct for art. He must preach either religion illustrated by art, or art informed by religion ; and by a natural gravitation he turned to the latter.

An obstacle to Ruskin's complete success in his work, and to the world's just appreciation of it, I think, was the complexity of his own powers. That his intellectual endowment was great is recognized: it was wider, I suspect, than is commonly known, and strong in both reasoning and perceptive powers. His reasoning, however, was deductive : for the processes of induction he had no aptitude. If he had lived in the time of the Schoolmen, he might have taken delight in dialectic ; for he could reason keenly from premise to conclusion, and from one conclusion to another; but the commonplace occupation of putting two and two together did not suit him. The choice of his premises was guided more by instinct than by induction, and he reasoned from them remorselessly. His instincts were true, and his perceptions keen—so keen that what his mind saw seemed to come to him by instantaneous illumination : when he had caught his impression, it was so clear that his conviction of it was nearly impregnable, and he followed it to its farthest consequence without misgiving. Now and then, when he came back to the subject later, a new light would flash on him and he would see it in a fresh aspect. Then he was ready to change his conviction, to urge the new and deduce new consequences from it with the same assurance and the same relentless sequence as before. When it came to practical application, he was apt to forget the necessity of accommodating the range of one principle to that of its neighbors : the principle he was advocating had a right of way, and he would ride it rough-shod over any other that stood in his course. Experience did not teach him caution, though it did lead him to speak in his later writings with frank disrespect of some of the opinions of his earlier, and to declare that "mostly, matters of consequence are three-sided or four-sided, or polygonal; and the trotting round a polygon is severe work for people any way stiff in their opinions."

Ruskin has been accused of narrowness by people who perhaps have not taken the pains to estimate him fully. Narrow he certainly was not, though incomplete and more or less one-sided, like all men. The very complexity and rivalry of his powers, as much as their fulness, made it as difficult for his critics to estimate them fairly as for himself to harmonize them. From his mother he seems to have inherited with his religious feeling a passion for precision and a masterful temper; from his father, an instinct for art and literature, a fastidious, imaginative, and sensitive nature; from both, a good share of pride, an unswerving uprightness, and an irrepressible habit of truth-telling. But both failed to transmit the self-restraint and self-discipline characteristic of them, which might have made Ruskin's powers work together, and spared him a great part of the conflict and worry that wore out his life. In a letter to Rossetti, lately published, he describes himself thus: "I am very self-indulgent, very proud, very obstinate, and *very* resentful; on the other side, I am very upright—nearly as just as I suppose it is possible for a man to be in this world—exceedingly fond of making other people happy, and devoutly reverent to all true mental or moral power." Very honest this, and just to himself; but it might have been safer to say, "nearly as just as . . is possible" to a man who is impetuous, hasty, combative, gifted with a biting tongue, and, withal, very proud, very obstinate, and very resentful.

It may have been the masterful temper as well as intense conviction that made him formulate his conclusions as eternal laws, and back them, like a prophet, with the divine command. Whenever his feeling was strongly excited, the positiveness of inspiration came over him. In his "Seven Lamps of Architecture" he says that the French Flamboyant style "would have lasted till now, if it had not taken to telling lies." To say this in the face of every indication of human experience could have been warranted only by that intimate knowledge of the divine counsels which the Hebrew prophets claimed. He hated the Greek fret, calling it a vile concatenation of straight lines, for the simple reason that it displeased his eye, which delighted in curves. With his fondness for reasoned statement, however, he would have liked to prove it bad, and casting about for its prototype he could find it only in certain crystalline aspects of bismuth. He has then, he says, "convicted the Greek fret of ugliness, because it has no precedent to allege for its arrangement but an artificial [*i.e.*, crystallized] form of a rare metal"; for his fundamental test is that "whatever is in architecture fair or beautiful is imitated from natural forms."

In "Praeterita" Ruskin quotes a remark by Mazzini that he, Ruskin, had the most analytical mind in Europe. An analytical mind he had—keenly analytical—but there were two difficulties in his way. First, he was inclined to apply his analysis to subjects in which such close analysis was unprofitable or, at least, superfluous, except for purely metaphysical study, whereas his aim was always didactic and practical. Secondly, his impassioned temper and his preoccupations or prejudices were apt to warp his mind away from its analysis and vitiate its conclusion. It must be said that in abstract discussion his reasoning is very direct and his statement singularly clear. But the balance of his complicated mental machinery was too sensitive for the controversies to which he gave a great part of his life. Even when he was undisturbed by outside contact he was subject to gusts of feeling—of passion, even—which deranged his reasoning and deformed its product as wind breaks up forming ice. Often he would go on arguing sedately enough till a wave of emotion broke over his mind, when he would fling in some glowing adjective or metaphor that begged the question, implying an added premise that might be true or not, but was unsupported except by his underlying animus and really deflected his argument. Hence it follows that his writing is less valuable for its carefully deduced conclusions than for a rare intuitive perception and elevated insight, laying open to him truths that escaped the eyes of other writers, and giving to his teaching in some sort the character of a revelation. But these lapses laid him open to opponents who did not believe in inspiration and who were keen to see flaws in his reasoning.

With these varied gifts a wide choice of careers was open to Ruskin. There were, he himself tells us, four things that he might have become—a poet, an engraver, an architect, or, to use his own words, the first geologist of his time in Europe. We may safely believe, however, that when he undertook the regeneration of art he moved in the line in which his powers worked most freely, if not in the line of least resistance. The unifying influence which pervaded all his view of life and nature was his belief in what it is now a habit to call the divine immanence, a conception which bears as much on the artistic side of life as on the religious, though it has its nearest contact in religion. Religious, scientific, artistic aspects of nature were to him manifestations of one being: their facts and the laws he based on them were of equal authority. Obedience to this authority, reverence, love of order, love of the manifestations of power, love of truth, beauty—all these informed his perceptions and shaped the doctrine that he drew from them. Innate refinement, revolt from things mean, sordid, unclean, ignoble, and ugly—these gave keenness and discrimination to his instincts; and the intensity of his nature, the sensitiveness of his feeling, gave them force and fineness.

There is no need to dwell here on Ruskin's literary power. The world recognizes him as a master of style; and his fervid eloquence has won thousands of disciples who, perhaps, would not have given much attention to his doctrines in the mouth of a more prosaic preacher. In his later years he lamented this brilliant and persuasive utterance, which, as he recognized, absorbed the attention that he would have claimed for the body of his teaching. "All my life," he said in a conversation which Mr. Spielmann quotes, "I have been talking to the people, and they have listened, not to what I said, but to how I say it; they have cared, not for the matter, but only for the manner of my words." Perhaps it is not strange that readers who go to his writings for intellectual pleasure more than for study should be carried away by an eloquence of which the writer himself, it would seem, was often the captive rather than the guide.

Ruskin's opportunity was peculiar. He came at a moment of transition, when the Romantic school of art and literature had nearly spent its inspiration and surfeited its audience, and the inevitable reaction to Naturalism had begun. In English literature Wordsworth went before him; Tennyson was his contemporary; so were Dickens and Thackeray, fathers of the Naturalistic novelists. In painting Constable was preparing the way for the new school with a power which carried its influence across the Channel: Turner, too individual to be classed with any school, had already in his earlier period shown what a revolution the close study of nature could work in landscape painting. Naturalism was taking possession of art and literature, as part of that pervading revulsion against all classicism and formalism, and even of human restraint, which showed itself in religion and politics in the guise of free thought and democracy, producing in Europe the universal fermentation that had its climax in the revolution of 1848.

That Ruskin, violent Tory as he called himself, should have taken the revolutionary part in art looks odd at first; but in him there was a Jacobin as well as a Tory. These brought him to the still stranger contrast of a man who, a devout monarchist and a believer in aristocracy, yet devoted himself at last to what was really socialism. In this contradiction, as in many others, Ruskin resembled his friend Carlyle, whom he admired and professed to follow. Both were alike loyal to the divine authority and order, of which they had nevertheless their several and very individual conceptions; and both alike were devoted to the welfare of their fellowmen—for whose wisdom neither had any great admiration—and to the joy of instructing them in it. They were equally unruly, and equally out of tune with the traditions and prejudices of the world as they found it. Both were royalist, even aristocratic, in their sympathies; but Carlyle believed devoutly in the divine right of the strongest, and Ruskin in the divine right of the anointed, which is the kindlier faith, and, on the whole, perhaps the more honorable.

We have seen that Ruskin's naturalism was intimately related to his religion. Here was a point of contact with the first Preraphaelites, who were men of religious sentiment. Some people have thought of him as the founder of Preraphaelism, but there is no warrant for this. Hunt, Millais, and Rossetti breathed in Naturalism as Ruskin did. All the three confess the stimulus and encouragement of his writing, and it was inevitable that he should be drawn to them by sympathy, and should rush to defend them and their principles when he saw them violently attacked on their first appearance in 1849. Yet his relations with the Preraphaelites were transitory. He was too masterful to take long satisfaction in the company of painters who did not bow to his teaching; and they were too secure in their own ways to accept him as their prophet, or even, as it turned out, to hold together permanently.

It was when Ruskin was a precocious boy of thirteen that his father's partner, Mr. Telford, gave him a copy of Rogers's "Italy" with Turner's illustrations, which took possession of him at first sight, and, he tells us, determined the main tenor of his life. He was only seventeen when, in 1836, a savage attack in "Blackwood" on the pictures of Turner's later manner raised him, as he says, "to the height of black anger," and stirred him to write an answer for publication. The article was diverted by Turner, to whom his father sent it, and never saw the light; but it became the nucleus of the first volume of

"Modern Painters," published seven years later. This work is surely a marvellous performance for a man in his early twenties—not only, as he says, for "the skill of language which the public at once felt for a pleasant gift" in him, but for the power of ordering a long-sustained train of thought, for luminousness of exposition, unexampled fertility in illustration, keen insight, unflagging freshness, and dignity of style. "I had in my little pitcher," he writes in "Praeterita," "vialfuls, as it were, of Wordsworth's reverence, Shelley's sensitiveness, Turner's accuracy, all in one." The same reverence, sensitiveness, accuracy of vision, and wonderful eloquence pervade the work to the end of the last volume, which was not reached till after seventeen years.

The publication of "Modern Painters" was the great event of Ruskin's life. The book contains the substance of his teachings up to the time when he gave himself to social and economic theories, into which I shall not try to follow him here. It gives the full measure of his reasoning powers, his insight, his imagination, and his eloquence. If he had not taken the world by storm at the beginning, but had won his way gradually into life, its conflicts, and its applause, he might perhaps have grown less self-confident and more circumspect. As it was, he flung himself headlong into an exciting, exhausting battle, that lasted till his force was spent, the more intoxicating in that it was fought in an arena full of applauding spectators.

The book is really not addressed to the artists who were most concerned with it, nor to the critics, but to the public to whom Ruskin's instinct as a preacher made it natural for him to appeal. As was to be expected, the painters mostly met it with distrust, hostility, or neglect; the offended critics attacked it with savage wrath or with scorn; but the public applauded and read it with eager delight. It was indeed a great conception, without a forerunner, owing nothing to example or outside influence, worked out in absolute independence on new lines and to elaborate completeness. Begun in defence of Turner, it outgrew its first purpose, becoming an analysis of all the material of landscape painting and the pictorial aspects of nature. It was more than this; it was an attempt to investigate scientifically the laws under which a landscape should be painted, and to proclaim them with the voice of authority. The authority was the authority of nature and of God, he claimed; the voice was that of the evangelist, not of the simple student publishing his discoveries.

In his first object, to rehabilitate the reputation of Turner, which the critics were damaging, Ruskin undoubtedly succeeded. On the public, to whom he really addressed his message, he made a vivid and lasting impression. He appealed to their religious feeling, to their desire for authoritative teaching, to their love of nature, and to a growing wish for cultivation in art ; and they were not quick to dispute his mission, or to find flaws, of which there were many, in his reasoning and conclusions. Perhaps no man, writing on the subject which he treated in this book, ever got so large an audience or won such great influence with them. Undoubtedly, among cultivated readers throughout England and the United States, it roused a great interest in all the beauty of nature, and indirectly in the study of pictures. Doubtless, too, it has had, directly or indirectly, an influence in inciting many painters, especially the younger ones, to the close study of nature. Its splendid descriptions must open all but perverse eyes to a world of loveliness and majesty. But though it anticipated many achievements of the landscape painters who came after, in its direct appeal to the painters of Ruskin's day it was foreordained to failure.

Ruskin says of himself, somewhere, that he was interested only in things that were near him. Absorbed in his own convictions ; possessed as fully as was Luther or Knox by the spirit of the preacher ; incapable of allowing for the convictions or temper of those who did not agree with him ; gifted with an utterance that could sting and scorch and blister, and which he did not control, he succeeded in accumulating on himself the resentful opposition of the whole tribe of English painters, an opposition which was bitter, scornful, and persistent. To the elder Ruskin, when the first volume of "Modern Painters" had appeared, Prout wrote indulgently : "Had the work been written with the courtesy of Sir Joshua Reynolds's lectures, it would have been a standard work." But courtesy means indulgence, and indulgence to his adversaries Ruskin could not show.

Moreover, Ruskin had not the right vantage ground from which to press his attack. It is the artist's nature to be influenced, not by reasoning, not by authority, but by the power to do better than himself something that he wants to do. An ounce of example is worth more to him than a pound of instruction. One half square yard of canvas showing that Ruskin could do something technically more effective than other men would have carried more weight with the painters than all the wisdom of Plato, the imagination of Shelley, and the eloquence of Ruskin combined. Artists are by nature disinclined to preaching. They have their own convictions, their own traditions, their own language; to any one who does not speak to them through these they give little heed. Thus he and they had no common ground to stand on. His ideas were not theirs; his point of view and eyes were not theirs; their traditions he scorned.

Since that day, though Naturalism has taken possession of painting, painting has drifted farther and farther from the ideals he proposed to it. The central doctrine of "Modern Painters" is that the beauty of nature is "a witness to the omnipotence of God"; that the office of the painter is simply to bear testimony to this omnipotence and to efface himself in doing it, so that every painter has a religious mission. "The skill of the artist," he says in his second preface, "and the perfection of his art are never proved until both are forgotten. The artist has done nothing till he has concealed himself." This doctrine, which was a direct challenge to the painters of Ruskin's day, is as directly opposed to the criticism of to-day as anything could be. Naturalism has advanced; it is the habit to express devotion to the truth of nature; though there are some painters left who recognize a connection between her and the God who made her. But the fundamental canon of modern criticism is that pictures are interesting in proportion as they show the individuality of the painter. The personal note is the first thing valued, and covers innumerable shortcomings. The subject of the picture is of no account; the painting of it is everything. Art is for art's sake; its message is impertinence, or, worse than this, is stupid and tiresome. Ruskin's song is always of beauty in nature; the modern painter scoffs at beauty, except in the doing. English painters have not yet got so far as this, I believe; but the French, who are now the leaders, insist on this view, and our own people follow them. It is difficult to think of anything that would have set Ruskin aflame with hotter resentment than this present perversion of the Naturalism which he preached; but the man who rolls a ball down hill cannot say where it shall strike. Ruskin was an idealist behind his naturalism; modern painters have no use for the ideal. He was full of imagination; they want no imaginings. He was a purist; they poured contempt on purism. So the appearance is that his message has been for the most part wasted on the painters themselves, that its impulse is to be felt chiefly through that power by which all effective human influence in the end acts—the slow-working influence of public enlightenment.

Ruskin's power as an artist has been much overlooked. He was never an exhibitor, never painted pictures, never came on the market.

His admiring readers have been for the most part persons whose technical knowledge has not equipped them for artistic criticism. Few have had a chance to study or even to see his drawings, of which he made an enormous number. The world knows his artistic work only through the illustrations in his books ; and it has been not an uncommon habit to ascribe all the charm of these to the engraver and all the shortcomings to Ruskin. The confident cleverness which French painters glorify under the name of *chic*, and which all painters admire, under one name or another, he scorned. But those who study his drawings intelligently and without prejudice will find that his artistic powers were high. Power of design and invention he entirely disclaimed, though he was very sensitive to it in other artists' work. But he had an unsurpassed sensibility to all the beauty of the visible world, and quite as much in its general aspects as in its details. He had a sureness of eye and precision of hand in drawing which were Preraphaelite, and which tempted him often to extraordinary minuteness of detail ; but he had also what the Preraphaelites did not get, a clear apprehension of relation in light and shade, in color, in mass ; and so his work had a breadth and general harmony, the lack of which was the fatal defect in theirs. He had, moreover, this advantage over them, that he was not his own master until his judgment had been formed by the teaching of painters who were the best in their way and time. Copley Fielding, Prout, and Harding were his instructors. From them he naturally learned the attention to massing and breadth of effect which belonged to the older school of English painters, and which, with all his passion for detail and finish, he did not forget. The influence of Turner, to which he afterward yielded, was entirely in harmony with this, and was heightened by the highly imaginative quality, the splendor of light and color, and the intimate knowledge of nature to which Ruskin's temperament eagerly responded.

Prout seems to have inspired or at least to have encouraged his delight in the picturesqueness of architecture. Nobody has excelled the union of picturesque feeling, breadth, and dignity in Prout's drawing of architecture, and Ruskin was his successor in these qualities. Both looked at architecture primarily from a painter's point of view rather than from that of the architect, and Prout looked no farther. To Ruskin the accidental effects of color, of lighting, of age and of weathering appealed more directly than did the architectural idea ; nevertheless, his eye for proportion and his sense for decorative form made his architectural drawing much truer and finer than Prout's. It will be hard to find better drawings in their kind than some of the large plates which Ruskin prepared to accompany "The Stones of Venice." Perhaps Viollet-Le-Duc's surpass them on the architectural side only, inclining to the architect's point of view as Ruskin's do to the painter's. It would lead me too far to examine here his architectural writing, an outcome of his work in "Modern Painters." It is full of appreciative observation and stimulating thought. Doubtless it had considerable influence in helping on the Gothic revival in England, for which he sounded the *reveille* in his stirring Edinburgh lectures. But his study of architecture was scanty, his interest narrow, his view, as I have just said, that of the painter and of the amateur. His eye was busy with its detail, its decoration, and its accidents more than with its essentials. His influence here was brief; the movement which he fostered is gone, like last winter's snow.

It has been a habit to call Ruskin a niggler, but the accusation is singularly unreasonable. His eye was microscopic, but it was also megascopic. A niggler is prodigal of handling, but Ruskin, who would sometimes carry detail to great complexity, liked to get his complexity with economy of handling, and was impatient of the muddling that comes of overworking a drawing. His rapid sketches, and they abounded, were as bare of detail as anybody's, and as directly aimed at the large aspects of nature. In fact, though it sound like a paradox, he had a great deal in common with the modern Impressionist in his power of seizing the broad characteristics of a scene, even its evanescent aspects—its impression, in a word—and of stopping there. But, though his rapid sketches are often loose scrawls, as careless of handling as any can be, he had no sympathy with the vague and unmeaning handling in which the modern Impressionist expresses his most serious thought. His ordinary manner was singularly firm and precise, saved from hardness by its exceeding delicacy and sensitiveness; for hardness he would not endure, and meaningless touches were an offence to him. Like all other artists, in the end he recoiled from the study of detail, and found his interest more and more in abstraction. In an article called "The Black Arts," written in 1887 for "The Magazine of Art," perhaps the last he wrote, I find this passage:

> "Indeed, for one thing, all this labor and realistic finishing makes us lose sight of the charm of easily suggestive lines—nay, of the power of lines, properly so called, altogether. . . No one has pleaded more for finish than I in past time, or oftener, or

> perhaps so strongly, asserted the first principle of Leonardo, that a good picture should look like a mirror of the thing itself. But now that everybody can mirror the thing itself—at least the black and white of it . . I begin to wish for a little less to look at, and would for my own part gladly exchange my tricks of stippling and tinting for the good Doctor's gift of drawing two wire-haired terriers with a wink."

The good Doctor is Dr. John Brown of Edinburgh.

His delight in color was intense. His readers wonder to see how the color of nature possesses him and illuminates his descriptions. Every student of his drawings will see the same influence reflected in them. Like Turner, and like all other ardent colorists, while he was fond of following delicate tones and broken tints, he delighted in full color, in the glow of sunset and the radiant hues of flowers. When a good many of Ruskin's drawings were exhibited in Boston several years ago, a painter—not one of those who give themselves up to color—to whom I said that Ruskin's drawings show great feeling for pure color, answered: "Yes, but it is not hard to get pure color, when you don't try to make it look like nature." It will not do to say that Ruskin did not try to make his color like nature's: yet the painters who most delight in color are not those who come nearest to matching nature's tints. On the contrary, the colorist is driven, by instinct or purpose, to try to imitate, by heightening his scale of hues, the splendor which nature gets by a luminousness that he cannot approach. The system, foreshadowed by Constable and Turner, under which the French landscape-painters have learned to parallel, not match, the effects of nature with a carefully adjusted scheme of values—and which comes, on the whole, nearer to the broad truth of nature than the work of stronger colorists than they—has been developed since Ruskin wrote. Yet no one has set forth more clearly, I think, the proper scaling of values and tones in painting than he did in the fourth volume of "Modern Painters"; and this was new doctrine then. He carried his color into half-tones and shadows as the painters about him did not do. A small sketch of a bunch of leaves and berries in Prof. Norton's collection, evidently made by Ruskin for pupils, bears this characteristic legend: "Keep your red, red, and your brown, brown, and your green, green, for your life."

His painting, or drawing, lay too much out of the path of contemporary painters to interest them, or perhaps to be fairly criticised by them. He never painted in oil; he was not a figure painter; and though his "Aratra Pentelici" is a treatise on Greek sculpture, it shows nothing of the kind of interest in the figure that we look for in a painter of it. Though he was a pupil of Harding he neglected, as Turner did, the ordinary aspects of landscape, and I have never seen foliage drawn by him except in fragments. His drawings incline to the two extremes of wide views much generalized and bits of detail drawn with minute precision. But whatever he drew—and within these limitations, his range was wide—while it ignored the artifices to which painters were given, their tricks of trade, and their traditions of work, it was full of truth, of refinement, and of an unflagging instinct for natural beauty which we do not see nowadays. It is to be wished that there might be now a tolerably full exhibition of his works. They would, it may be hoped, find more appreciation than they did in his own time. The art of landscape painting has advanced since then in directions which he pointed out.

Ruskin's was an opulent nature, with material in it to have made three men, as men go. He had in him, indeed, much of the spirit of the knight of chivalry, as well as of the monk or the preacher. Truth was his mistress : he was ready with immediate battle for her against all comers or for whomsoever he saw oppressed. He was sensitive as well as pugnacious; but his own sensitiveness did not teach him indulgence for the sensitiveness of an opponent; so he was continually making enemies of those with whom he had no personal quarrel, and unexpectedly offending all but the closest of his friends. That Whistler, for being called in print a coxcomb flinging a pot of paint in the public's face, should sue him seemed to surprise him. He called Gladstone an old windbag, and notes, as if it were unexpected, that after this Miss Gladstone would not look at him. "Whenever I attack" [painters], he says in his preface to "Modern Painters," "I give myself far more pain than I can possibly inflict." If this chronicles actual experience, it is not easy to see how he endured so long. The wine of controversy went to his head quickly. Under its influence he would not only make the opponent of his opinions his personal adversary, but he would seize on any controversial weapon that his quick imagination suggested, and back his position with arguments that in a more critical temper, we must think, he would have seen to be unsound.

It is likely that any induration of his sensitiveness would have robbed his character of its chief charm, and his writings of their greatest beauty ; yet for the uses of controversy, to which the greater part of his life was given up, such a case-hardening as most educated Englishmen get at the public schools would have greatly increased his efficiency, and lessened for him the wear and tear of life. But he was jealously guarded from any such experience. In the seclusion of his home he was, as he tells us, closely convent-bred, and his mental development was left mainly to its own growth.

His intellectual activity was precocious and independent. He preached sermons at four years; and, feeding on Scott, Byron, and Johnson, he was a poet at nine, an essayist at fourteen. Of social education he had none. He says again: "I was taught no precision nor etiquette of manners. . . Shyness came later, and increased as I grew conscious of the rudeness arising from the want of social discipline, and found it impossible to acquire in advanced life dexterity in any bodily exercise, skill in any pleasing accomplishment, or ease and tact in ordinary behavior." This amounted to much more than a social handicap. In this seclusion he grew up entirely self-reliant, rooted in his convictions, and quite unready for that free giving and taking of opinion which is the necessary schooling of early manhood. Gentle in manner, with a genuine sweetness that won those who did not affront his convictions, free-giving, capable of such considerate kindness as ordinary men do not so much as conceive of, he could not learn to meet people on the ground of indifference, or to be gracious to opposing opinions. The habit grew on him of shutting himself in with friends, disciples, or dependents. In spite of his constant communication with the world through his teaching, of his dependence on it for his audience as well as for its applause, which was dear to him, he held himself aloof from it. He heard its voice as through a telephone, and with that impatience with which we visit the contumacy of an inaccessible listener.

This is a not unnatural attitude, in some ways not unfavorable, for one who will busy himself with the study of abstract truth, or indeed for the development of an artist: but it is fatal to the success of one who undertakes the social reform of the world. A poet, a painter, or a prophet may be born; a philanthropist must be made, and then shaped by contact with his fellowmen. When Ruskin's abounding sympathy and generosity led him to give himself up to the reform of society, he failed from want of tact, from lack of acquaintance with the common facts of life, and of knowledge how men are made and how they act. However we may admire the devotion with which he gave up his strength, his fortune, his chosen career, to the effort to help common men at the level of their common lives, we cannot but see that the efficient, the important, part of his life was the earlier part, when he was working out his natural bent. Here in his kind he had no equal; no one else could deliver his message. But of reformers and philanthropists, though none has been more unselfish in devotion or finer in instinct, many have been wiser and more efficient. So men, I think, will naturally judge of and remember him chiefly as an inspiring teacher in art; the work which the world will commemorate will be the work of his early years.

It is possible that no body of doctrine will stay in the world as the result of Ruskin's teaching. Of his system of laws and principles something will be remembered and much forgotten; some will be fruitful and some infertile; some, we can see, are strained or even erroneous. If, as he insists, the painter of divine truth in nature must be content with effacement for his portion, so may the writer. Yet there will remain with the world, we must believe, not only the record but the impression of a great personality, of a great power honestly used in reverent service of his Master, in beneficent service of his fellowmen.

Few things in modern days have been more pathetic than this life of Ruskin's—the life of a man given up to what he felt to be the higher claims of his Maker's service, to the opening of human vision to the eternal beauty and eternal truth which he saw mirrored in the world we live in—a life devoted to the effort to lift men's eyes to something higher than the tangle of worldly interests, or the mists of commonplace desire, in which he saw them struggling. It is pathetic to follow him as his sympathy led him, unwillingly, to intermit his higher efforts to arouse the intellectual and instructed, and, reaching lower and lower as he seemed to see men walking in obdurate blindness, try to find the level at which he could lift them up. We see him, touched by the burden and sadness of men in their lower estate, leave in abeyance his high hope as a spiritual teacher, strip himself of his fortune in the effort to better their outward condition, and, still with the hope that this was the means of releasing their eyes to higher vision, strive with a zeal that did not yield to ill-success till his strength was spent, and his light went out in darkness and disappointment.

William P. P. Longfellow.

THE APPROACHING PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

Six months ago the Republican leaders were quite certain that the next Presidential campaign would be one-sided and uninteresting. There was no cloud, even as large as a man's hand, upon their political sky. Three months ago they were less confident. To-day they admit that the approaching struggle promises to be as bitterly contested as the famous battle of 1896. Their frank admissions may be due to a desire to prevent overconfidence and to the hope that generous campaign subscriptions will be thereby stimulated. Discounting the desire and the hope, it is, nevertheless, still apparent that the Republican anxiety is not altogether assumed and that the expression of doubt is too sincere to have its origin in an ulterior purpose. The path of President McKinley to reëlection is not without its lions in the way; nor are these lions chained, as Christian found them.

It may be worth while, therefore, to consider the conditions which have arisen in the last few months to check the confidence of the Republicans, and to weigh, as impartially as may be, the factors which will operate for and against the reëlection of President McKinley. It is to be taken for granted, in the first place, that the opposing Presidential nominees will be the same next fall as in 1896. This fact simplifies the situation, to some extent, for it removes all the uncertainty which the entrance of new personalities into the contest would create. With the nominations thus assured, let me recall the fact that in 1896 McKinley received 271 electoral votes and Bryan secured 176. A majority of the electoral college is 224. The unsuccessful candidate lacked forty-eight of the necessary number. If the conditions which prevailed four years ago continued unchanged, Bryan could not hope, by any possibility, to cross the wide chasm between defeat and victory. This chasm has, indeed, increased through the very evident return of Kansas, South Dakota, and Washington, with their eighteen electoral votes, to the Republican column. To offset this loss, the Democrats may reasonably hope to recover the twelve electoral votes which, in 1896, were given by Kentucky to McKinley, and to secure the three votes of Delaware—a total of fifteen.

The recent sweeping Democratic victory in Maryland seems to give assurance that that State will be found next fall in the Democratic column, and West Virginia is, to say the least, good fighting ground. If Bryan should carry these two States he would gain fourteen electoral votes, which, added to the fifteen from Kentucky and Delaware, and conceding Kansas, South Dakota, and Washington to the Republicans, would leave him still lacking thirty-seven votes of the requisite majority. Ohio and Illinois would give him this number, with one to spare; or Illinois and Indiana could also insure his victory. To win in Illinois he must overturn the Republican majority of 250,000 which McKinley secured in 1896; while in Ohio he must combat the element of State pride, which is especially strong because of the personal popularity of the President, and must contend against the resourceful management of Senator Hanna, who will naturally seek to save the President's State at any cost. There are some Democrats who confidently count New York in their column in 1900, but I must confess to my inability, at this time, to share their optimism. I cannot fail to remember that they expressed the same hope on the eve of the election in 1896 and New York gave its electoral vote to McKinley by nearly 300,000 majority.

It is evident, therefore, that Bryan will enter upon his second campaign handicapped by the wide margin between the vote which he received four years ago and the necessary majority, while President McKinley can lose forty-five electoral votes and still be saved from defeat. In addition to this, Bryan will be confronted by the prosperity which the country at present enjoys. It does not seem to me that he can now command the support of the great army of the unemployed who, in 1896, flocked to his standard in the hope of improving their forlorn condition, nor that the farmers, then dissatisfied and in debt, will again look to him as the panacea for their real and fancied ills. The prices of wheat and corn and cotton have been shown to be regulated by other causes than the coinage of gold and silver, and the millions of dollars paid upon mortgages in the granger States indicate that the pecuniary status of the agriculturists has wonderfully improved. I know that the working classes are proverbially short-sighted and, perhaps, indifferent to material argument, for I recall that they defeated Harrison in 1892 while enjoying great prosperity. Their action then, however, was influenced by the Homestead strike. At the present time, there is nothing to threaten a similar hostile sentiment, unless it be the fear of cheap labor in our new possessions, a factor to which I will recur at a subsequent point in this article.

Not only has President McKinley's administration been beneficent in its influence upon the country's material development, but it conducted the war with Spain to a triumphant conclusion. The American flag has been crowned with new glory, and the valor of American arms has not only thrilled our own hearts but has been a wholesome exhibition to the nations of the world. We have added, too, vast territories to our domain. The Republican party will, therefore, go before the country practically, if not literally, appealing to the patriotism and the cupidity of the people. These are no small factors. It is characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, which the Americans largely represent, to be loyal to their country and to acquire land. More than one observant philosopher asserts that selfishness is the mainspring of human action. If this be true, the American people need only to be convinced that the new possessions are now or will be commercially valuable, and they will decide for their retention by an overwhelming majority.

If the balance-sheet of the political ledger could be closed at this point, the result of the Presidential election would be even now a foregone conclusion. Unfortunately for the Republicans, however, the other side is crowded with menacing facts. I do not include such indefinite argument as may be found in the knowledge that no President has successfully sought reëlection since the days of Grant, a third of a century ago. This is interesting but not convincing. I shall not even dwell upon the disappointments and antagonisms which bear like a heavy load upon every administration, resulting from the failure to satisfy would-be office-holders with government positions. This is now, as it always has been, an obstacle to party success, and President McKinley cannot hope to escape its unfavorable effect. In fact, although the war with Spain and the later struggle in the Philippines, together with the establishment of new governments, have vastly increased the number of offices at the disposal of the President, they have also multiplied the applicants and swelled the aggregate of the disappointed. At the same time, in view of the more momentous questions before the people and the prevalent prosperity, I do not for a moment believe that the soreness of those who asked and did not receive will exert a determining weight. It is only another straw upon the camel's back.

If I should be asked, as I have been by the Editor of The Forum, to sum up the more important factors which threaten the success of President McKinley in the approaching campaign, I should name these:

The hostility created by the Administration's friendly attitude toward England.

The fact that the enactment of the gold standard law removes the fear of the free coinage of silver.

The widespread resentment against the injustice of a tariff between the United States and Puerto Rico, with which is coupled the question whether our Constitution follows our Flag to our new possessions.

There is, throughout the country, unmistakable enmity toward Great Britain. It is not confined to party. It is the natural outgrowth of past conflicts and of commercial rivalry, mingled with a resentment still cherished because of England's efforts to disrupt our Republic in the civil war. It is a sentiment which ought, in my opinion, to have been eradicated, and which, according to some optimistic thinkers, had disappeared when Great Britain stood between the United States and the Spanish-sympathizing nations of Europe in the beginning of the war with Spain. The debt which we owe to her for her sympathy and support in that critical period ought not to be forgotten, much less ignored; but gratitude is a proverbially evanescent quality. In the present case, also, there is some excuse for the attitude of the American people, because the friendly services rendered by Great Britain in the Spanish-American war have never been formally recounted to the country by any member of the Administration. Perhaps this information cannot be imparted for diplomatic reasons; but the fact remains that it is possessed only by those who were intimate with the development of the war, a class which is naturally limited. The silence thus observed has been most unfortunate. As the matter now stands, the Administration, fully cognizant, must recognize and remember what Great Britain did for us in that trying moment; the people, in ignorance, fail to understand and appreciate. Thus we have, between the Administration and the people, a barrier of suspicion which, not being removed, operates to the disadvantage of the President.

It is extremely embarrassing for the Republican party that this anti-English sentiment has been stirred on the eve of a Presidential campaign through circumstances beyond political control. Congress, for international reasons, has been prevented from giving official expression to the natural sympathy privately and universally felt for the struggling Boers. In times past, before the United States became a world-power, and, therefore, less fearful of foreign complications, there was no hesitation in uttering a kindly word of encouragement to any liberty-seeking people. The Monroe doctrine had its birth in this feeling, and one of Daniel Webster's greatest orations had for its text a resolution of sympathy with the Greek revolutionists. To-day, when a similar declaration regarding the Boers is presented in the Senate, it must, in the exercise of a prudential policy, be smothered in the Committee on Foreign Relations; and forthwith this action is charged to sympathy with a monarchy and hostility to a republic. The political opponents of the dominant party are quick to see the advantage of stimulating prejudice through this situation.

The neutrality which the President has been forced to observe in relation to the principals in the British-Boer war is both explicable and excusable. It is difficult, however, to understand why he should have deliberately taken a step calculated to still further excite the already widespread anti-British feeling. He must have been aware of the extent of this sentiment, and although he may have regarded it as unfounded and unreasonable, he must, nevertheless, have known from experience that it was all the more difficult to deal with from this very fact. Certain it is, that in negotiating the Hay-Pauncefote interoceanic canal treaty, he has added fuel to the flames. I do not intend, in the necessarily contracted limits of this article, to discuss that important document. It is sufficient, for my purposes, to merely point out that the Administration has revived the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, which the American people hoped and believed was moribund. I admit that the status of this treaty is a mooted and abstract question, and not likely, therefore, to become a live popular issue. There can be no doubt, however, of the fact that a voter of even average intelligence will wonder why a canal, built exclusively by American men and money, should become an open, unobstructed waterway in time of war for the vessels of a nation hostile to us.

This is the question which will be hurled with tremendous force at the defenders of the President and his Administration in the approaching campaign. It is a question which James G. Blaine met and answered years ago, when, in the very inception of the Panama Canal project, he served notice upon all European powers that the United States would, in time of war, control any interoceanic canal, no matter by what government it had been constructed. Properly regarding the isthmian waterway as an extension of the coastline of the United

States, he declared that to allow it to be used by the warships of our enemy would be as absurd as to transport the troops of the enemy across our domain by way of the transcontinental lines of railroads. This, it seems to me, will be the position which the American people will sustain when they are called upon to render the verdict of the polls. Any other course would be a betrayal of the national integrity and honor. The opposition which the treaty has already encountered indicates the trend of popular opinion.

It is possible that the serious blunder which the Administration has committed may be neutralized by the adoption of the amendment to the treaty proposed by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, reserving American control in time of war; but it is doubtful whether the document would be, even then, fully acceptable to the people. On the contrary, it establishes additional relations with Great Britain which are not essential to our national well-being, and which are not in accord with the present state of the public mind. If the Senate shall ratify the treaty, a burden will be laid upon the Republican party which will seriously impede its progress toward victory. Even if favorable action shall be postponed, which I now predict, the Administration has made its record and must answer therefor.

The apparently unsympathetic attitude of the Administration toward the freedom-seeking Boers and the willingness with which it has conceded to Great Britain the use of an American interoceanic canal in time of war have operated to influence the Germans and the Irish alike. These two important constituents of our voting population are united for the first time in our political history. The Irish are, generally speaking, Democrats; but the Germans, almost without exception, are Republicans. The loss of any considerable portion of the German vote is a serious menace to Republican success; and the fact is, that, even without the complications of the Boer war, the party in power is threatened with a German defection. The Germans are suspicious of the tendency of the Republican party toward imperialism. A large and costly standing army, an evil with which the German is fully acquainted, and which he most earnestly deplores, seems permanently fastened upon this country. It is not strange, therefore, to find the German press, with rare exception, antagonistic to the Administration.

Congress seems about to enact a measure which is the very quintessence of imperialism. Under the bill introduced by Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, and reported favorably by the Senate Committee on the Philippines, the President is to be given autocratic, imperial, czar-like power in the government of those islands. He is to appoint and remove all civil, military, and judicial officers at his individual pleasure ; and the regulations which he promulgates are to be the law of the land. Congress proposes, in fact, to abdicate its prerogatives of co-administration. The Executive is to be supreme. It is not difficult to imagine the emphasis with which this law will be brought to the attention of the country in general and of the Germans in particular. Nor will its importance fail to be shown to the laboring classes. I have already mentioned how the Homestead strike, with its assault by armed soldiery upon workingmen, alarmed labor throughout the country. It will be only too easy, I am afraid, for ingenuous orators to persuade the always suspicious laborer that unless the power of the President is checked, a Congress and an Executive, controlled by sinister influences, may exercise the same autocratic authority to the oppression of the employed.

In the campaign of 1896 the Germans unanimously supported the Republican ticket because of their devotion to sound money, while the workingmen also voted for McKinley, so far as they could be so influenced by their corporate employers, who feared that the election of Bryan on a free coinage of silver platform would result in the depreciation, if not the entire obliteration, of all invested capital. The Republican party has seen proper, in the passage of a gold standard law, to remove this overhanging dread. It was honest for the Republican majority in Congress to enact this law ; but the wisdom of the action, from a purely political point of view, is to be questioned. The chief feature of the campaign of 1896 was the silver plank of the Chicago platform. Much was said, and believed, of "dishonest money," of "the degradation of the dollar." The orators and organs of the capitalistic combinations warned the workingman that his meagre wages would lose half their value, and that pensioners and all dependent upon limited annuities would suffer correspondingly. The picture of individual and national distress, should Bryan be elected, was most vividly drawn. The frantic and almost insensate appeals to the voters were not without their effect, and the country decided to bear the ills it had rather than fly to others that it knew not of.

The passage of the gold standard law banishes from the approaching campaign the all-potent arguments of 1896 ; it returns to the closet the skeleton which was so effective in frightening the people four years ago. The present majority of twenty in the United States Senate against the free coinage of silver cannot be changed within four years, unless a political revolution of unforeseen extent occurs, so that between Bryan as President and the repeal of the gold standard law, a hostile Senate may be expected to stand as an insurmountable barrier. The country is just beginning to realize this fact, and by next November will thoroughly understand it. What will be the result? The Democrats who opposed free coinage of silver in 1896 will have their opportunity to return to the political affiliation from which they then departed—an opportunity which they will welcome as natural free-traders and anti-imperialists—while the Germans, always to be found on the conservative side of the financial question, cannot be alarmed by the bugaboo of a depreciated currency founded on silver monometallism.

The enactment of the gold standard law will not attract to the Republicans one vote which was not willingly given them in 1896, while, on the other hand, as I have pointed out, it releases the gold Democrat from the necessity of voting for a Republican President and assures the Germans of the stability of our financial system. This is not all. It alienates those voters who supported the Republican candidate in 1896 in the belief that the promise of the party respecting bimetallism was sincere. The great mass of the American people will not, in my opinion, agree with Senator Aldrich and Senator Allison that the new financial legislation is but a reiteration of present statutes. The fact is that, for the first time in the history of our government, gold, and gold alone, is made the legal unit of value, and the principal and interest of the public debt is to be paid, by law, in gold instead of coin. If this were merely a reassertion of fact, there would be no necessity for the formal declaration which the new law contains. It may be that the country wants a single gold standard, and is ready to agree to the permanent retirement of silver as a money metal. If such be the case, the Republicans can well congratulate themselves upon the passage of the law. It would seem, however, despite the verdict of 1896, that the question was not yet settled in favor of gold alone; for the election of McKinley was, in some degree, at least, a victory for bimetallism.

We cannot overlook the fact that the unlimited authority now given to national banks in the control and issue of money, with the extension of the public debt, are matters which the Republicans are to be called upon to defend because of legislation for which their party is responsible. The national banks have now become the greatest confederated money power in the world. They will be a minor issue in the approaching campaign; but I venture the prediction that unless they exercise their tremendous power with wisdom and toleration, the fight in the future for their continuance will exceed the historical struggle in which Andrew Jackson was engaged.

As I write these lines, the skirmish line of the battle which is to take place next fall has been formed over what is popularly known as the Puerto Rican bill. It is a measure which has had a remarkable history and which has aroused extraordinary popular resentment. It originally provided for free trade between the United States and the island of Puerto Rico, the President having laid down, in his annual message to Congress, that the abolition of the customs was a plain duty. Against this free-trade proposition the sugar, tobacco, and other protected interests earnestly protested, and the promise of a duty of 25 per cent of the Dingley tariff rates was secured. This was unsatisfactory, in its turn, to the great mass of the American people, and in response to the universal outcry the 25 per cent was reduced to 15 per cent, and in that shape the measure went to the Senate.

In the meantime the popular indignation had become even more intense, and the Republicans in the Senate were threatened with serious defections in their own ranks. Several caucuses were held, the result of which was the adoption of a compromise enacting into law the free list of the President's Puerto Rican recommendation, and only continuing the tariff until the Puerto Rican legislature should ask that it be removed. In the debate which preceded the passage of the amended bill through the Senate, various explanations of the proposed tariff were offered by Republican Senators, the most frequently expressed reason being that the money was needed for revenue for the island. The variety, as well as the uncertainty, of the excuses offered, rather inflamed than decreased the widespread belief that the Republican majority in Congress was under the domination of the sugar and tobacco trusts.

It is certainly remarkable, from a political point of view, that the Republican leaders did not listen to the appeal which came from every section of the country, and from the representatives of every political party, in behalf of free trade. The preponderance of opinion was undoubtedly with the President's emphatically expressed recommendation. The innate sense of justice in the American mind was outraged at the selfish closing of our doors against the Puerto Ricans, even in small degree. The latter have been barred from the Spanish markets, and the proposition to treat them with the same harshness, and to forget the cordiality with which they received their American liberators, seemed neither generous nor just. In defiance of this public opinion—a defiance which is not apt to be forgotten—the Republican majority insisted upon the tariff, and will, undoubtedly, be called upon to answer for its action.

During the consideration of the measure the Republican and Democratic positions became plainly outlined. The Democrats contended that free trade is unavoidable because the Federal Constitution expressly prohibits the levying of duties upon commerce between the States. The Republicans, in speeches and by votes, insisted that the Constitution has not extended to Puerto Rico and that Congress has plenary power to impose a tariff. Stripped of all technicalities, therefore, the much-discussed measure involves the question, Does the Constitution follow the Flag?[1]

The negative answer given by the Republican majority in the United States Senate, upon an amendment which compelled a direct vote, and by both branches of Congress in the passage of the tariff bill, will not settle the dispute. The popular feeling, undoubtedly, is that the Constitution extended *ex proprio vigore* over Puerto Rico when that island became a possession of the United States. The Republicans maintained their position by numerous precedents in connection with the admission of Territories, and by decisions of the United States Supreme Court; but I seriously doubt whether this array of historical and legal evidence will outweigh the universal, though perhaps sentimental, view that the Constitution and the Flag travel hand in hand. At any rate, this is one of the questions to be decided at the polls next November.

It was Scylla on one side and Charybdis on the other for the Republican leaders. If they had accepted the popular contention that Puerto Rico was a part of the United States in the fullest meaning of the Constitution, they would have been compelled to admit that the Philippines were equally situated. With all tariff barriers thus levelled, the American laborer would be compelled to compete with the coolie of the Orient and the peon of Puerto Rico in the production of sugar, tobacco, hemp, and fruits. Even as it is, the cigar makers of this country are already alarmed, and are loud in their protests against the admission of Puerto Rican and Manila cigars free of duty. Still another serious question is presented, if Puerto Rico comes within the Constitution ; for, in that case, both our contiguous and distant island possessions are already on the road which leads to admission into the Union as States, even though the end of the journey may yet be far distant. This is one of the many problems which must be considered in connection with expansion ; and the number and complexity of these problems endanger Republican success. They will raise the doubt which may be fatal ; just as the fear of the effect of the free coinage of silver turned the scale in 1896.

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[1] See page 257 *et seq.*—Ed.

The enormous combinations of capital created during the term of President McKinley, commonly known as trusts, offer another vulnerable point of attack for the opponents of the Republican party. Congress, with a Republican majority in both branches, has attempted no remedial legislation, and, in view of this fact, any condemnation which the party national platform may utter will be accepted as nothing more than the tinkling of brass and the sounding of cymbals. The bond of sympathy between the trusts and the Republican party is too broad and strong to be hidden by the narrow curtain of a few lines of meaningless denunciation. The trusts are now a political issue ; and against them are the people who are compelled to pay higher prices for trust-made articles, the commercial travellers who have been forced out of employment, and the laborers who have been sent into idleness through the closing of establishments which interfered with the plans of the corporate managers. The enormous profits revealed in the Frick-Carnegie suit will also be a potent argument against trusts.

Considering, therefore, the new conditions which have arisen since 1896, I do not believe any one can truthfully say that Mr. Bryan's candidacy is to be viewed with indifference by the Republicans. It is too early, before the campaign has actually opened, to predict the result next November ; but it is certainly true that to-day the reëlection of President McKinley, which twelve months ago was conceded almost without a protest, is a debatable question. The pendulum of American politics is not stationary. It is as likely to swing as far in one direction as another ; and political leaders are now watching its movement with a curiosity and an anxiety born of the causes which I have thus briefly and inadequately brought to public attention.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE FUTURE OF CHINA.

When, in March, 1895, at Shimonoseki, Li Hung-Chang met the Japanese Plenipotentiaries in order to negotiate a treaty putting an end to the war then raging between the two countries, he urged upon Count Ito that they should establish an enduring peace, in order to prevent the yellow race of Asia from succumbing to the white race of Europe. Undoubtedly Japan had this object in view when she insisted, in Article 2 of the Treaty which she required China to accept, that the Liao-tung peninsula should be ceded to her in full sovereignty; for she must have realized that, without such cession, Russia, unable to secure a foothold in Eastern Korea, would make her advance to the sea through Manchuria, acquire the territory in question, and thus precipitate a disruption of China by Europe under pretext of maintaining the balance of power in the Far East.

The designs of Japan, however, were frustrated by Russia, supported by France and Germany, and also by the weakness and vacillation of the British Government, which refused to support Japan's demands. Under pressure from the governments mentioned, Japan was finally compelled to yield, and, in consideration of the payment of 30,000,000 taels, to evacuate and retrocede to China the territory she had claimed in Manchuria. Thus the door was left open for Russia.

But it was Germany who inaugurated in China the grab policy of to-day. In November, 1897, she seized the port of Kiao-chao, on the Shan-tung promontory, assigning as her reason for this action the desire to obtain satisfaction for the murder of certain German missionaries in the adjacent territory. A few months later this seizure was legalized through a treaty by which Kiao-chao and the adjacent territory were leased to Germany by China for a term of ninety-nine years (practically in perpetuity), with the right to land troops, construct fortifications, establish a naval station, build railroads, and open and operate mines, not only in the leased territory, but throughout the province of Shan-tung.

This aggressive move on the part of Germany gave Russia the opportunity she sought; and in December, 1897, she obtained permission for her squadron to winter at Port Arthur, in the Liao-tung peninsula, which Japan had been forced to relinquish. An agreement followed by which Port Arthur, Ta-lien Wan, and the adjacent territory were leased to Russia for a term of twenty-five years, the lease (or cession in usufruct as it was called) to be subsequently extended by mutual agreement—which practically amounted to cession. Alarmed at these portentous events, Great Britain secured from China the assurance that she would neither "mortgage, lease nor cede" to another power any portion of the Yang-tsze basin. Not content with this, the British Government insisted on occupying the port of Wei-hai-Wei, facing Port Arthur on the other side of the Gulf of Pechili. This strategic point had just been evacuated by Japan, who had held it since the conclusion of peace with China. The occupation of Wei-hai-Wei was demanded by Britain as a means of maintaining the balance of power in northern China.

While these events were taking place in the north, France, ostensibly as compensation for the murder of some of her missionaries, and as an offset for some concessions of a commercial nature just then made to Great Britain by China, secured from the latter a lease of a port near to her Tonking frontier, on the Kuang-chao Bay. Japan now became alarmed at these cessions of strategic points, and under the same stereotyped plea, to maintain the balance of power, she secured from China the promise that the latter would not alienate, except to Japan, any of her territory in the province of Fu-kien, which faces the island of Formosa.

But the end was not yet. The concessions made to France by helpless China were immediately followed by fresh demands on the part of Great Britain, who, for the purpose of strengthening the defences of her settlement at Hong Kong, insisted that a considerable strip of the mainland in the Chinese province of Kuang-tung should be leased to her. With this, for the time, the demands for territory ceased, though Italy, supported by Great Britain, endeavored to secure a naval base in the Bay of San-mun.

Not content with the possession of such valuable strategic points, and with the hope of winning from the mercantile classes at home an approval of their policy in the Far East, Germany, Great Britain, and France used every opportunity to wring from China concessions in favor of their respective nationals. Concessions for the building of railroads even were demanded by some of the Treaty Powers as a punitive measure for injuries received by their subjects, or for delay in complying with other demands; in fact, any pretext seemed a sufficient basis for a demand.

It would be easy to multiply instances of the unjust and senseless way in which, for the last few years, this battle for commercial privileges in China has been waged by European Powers; but enough has been said to serve my purpose. The true interests of China have never been considered; her ability to meet the obligations she was forced to incur have never been pondered; and the ultimate result on foreign trade has been ignored. It is hardly conceivable that those responsible for this hurtful policy should not have realized that the end to which they were rapidly pushing China was internal disruption, the overthrow of all constituted authority in the Empire, and the consequent temporary ruin of foreign trade.

The acquisition by European Powers of these various strips of territory along the coast of China has done more perhaps than anything else to intensify the anti-foreign and anti-missionary feeling of a conceited and ignorant people, who, from the fact that the seizures of Kiao-chao and of Kuang-chao Wan were made ostensibly as punishments for the murder, by bandits, of foreign missionaries, have conceived the idea that the missionaries are the prime cause of all their present troubles and humiliations. Furthermore, the prestige of the court of Peking has suffered in the eyes of the people, who have realized the utter inability of their rulers to resist foreign demands or to enforce authority, even when desirous of doing so.

Under the financial strain consequent upon the construction of railways, the organizing of a new army and navy and of expensive public works, to say nothing of the interest on its large, and newly incurred, foreign debt, every source of revenue known to the Chinese Government was taxed to its limit, and found insufficient to meet the demands made upon it. The Chinese Government was literally on the brink of bankruptcy, largely brought about by the insatiable greed and impolitic haste of some of the Treaty Powers. The Powers have permanently fastened on the country an internal tax called *likin*, against which, for thirty years and more, they had, one and all, fought tooth and nail, and which is recognized on all sides as highly prejudicial to the extension of foreign trade. Not only have they saddled foreign trade with this tax, but they have practically forced the Chinese Government to have recourse to additional taxation, to the further detriment of foreign trade, and to the increased misery and growing discontent of the people.

As a result of the ever-recurring demands of Peking for money, the provincial governments, forced to effect economies, reduced their armies till they were not sufficient to insure order. In consequence anti-foreign riots have become more frequent, bringing with them new demands by the Treaty Powers; and the prestige of the throne of Peking has begun to disappear under these repeated blows.

Naval bases and concessions were not, however, enough. For strategical purposes, as well as for securing for their nationals new fields for commercial activity within which these should have preferential rights, especially for railway building and mining, Russia, Germany, France, and Britain divided China among themselves, creating what are now called "areas of interest or influence." What these rights might eventually be claimed to include no one could or would tell; but it was evident that they might be extended to carry with them territorial jurisdiction and the imposition of differential dues, taxes, or rates, in ports or on railroads, and thus result in excluding the trade of all foreign competitors.

The mercantile classes of Europe and of the United States, as well as the foreign mercantile classes in China, claimed that the one essential to the healthy development of their trade was the untrammelled exercise of the rights insured them under treaties with China, or what we now call "the open door." But each one of the European Powers had conceded preferential rights to some other within certain areas, and could no longer insist, with any semblance of logic or hope of success, that the whole Empire be left open to all comers for purposes of trade.

It was reserved for the Government of the United States to obtain this much-desired end. Bound by no agreements with any of the Treaty Powers concerning respective commercial rights in China; with an increased influence in Eastern Asiatic affairs since the acquisition of the Philippines; with the purely commercial nature of its interests in China, and with its determination to maintain the rights of its citizens there under existing treaties with China recognized by all, it could do for the commerce of America, and for that of the whole world, what none of the other Powers could possibly accomplish.

In the latter part of last year, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and Japan were informed by the Government of the United States that it sought a declaration from them concerning the commercial policy they proposed pursuing within their so-called "areas of interest," and a formal written expression to the oft-repeated oral assurances they had made to the United States, after each aggressive move on their part, of their determination to recognize the untrammelled exercise by all of the rights insured by existing treaties with China.

The Government of the United States proposed that this declaration should cover three points: 1, That the Powers claiming spheres of interest in China should in no way interfere with any port open by treaty with China to foreign trade which might happen to fall within the area of interest claimed by them, or be in any territory leased by them, or with the vested rights of any person not of their own nationality in any such port or territory; 2, that all ports they might open within such areas or leased territory should either be free ports (as are at present Kiao-chao and Ta-lien Wan), or that the only customs dues which should be collected at them should be those provided for by the treaties with China at the time in force, and that said duties should be collected by the Chinese Government; and, 3, that they would not levy any higher harbor dues on vessels of other nationalities frequenting such ports, or higher railroad charges on merchandise belonging to, or destined for, subjects of other Powers transported through their areas of interest than would be levied on their national vessels or charged for merchandise belonging to their own subjects.

These broad principles have now been accepted by all the Powers approached, and the commercial world has thereby been secured in the enjoyment of all its rights under treaties with China, the one and only security needed to insure the healthy development of trade.

The results of the negotiations of this Government are not, however, to be judged by their purely commercial side. They reach much farther; for, temporarily at least, they have put a stop to the grab policy which, as previously shown, has resulted so disastrously to China and to the real interests of foreigners and their enterprises in the Empire. They have also shown the Peking Government that the integrity of the country is not menaced, that the aim of the Powers henceforth is the peaceful development of the natural resources and vast trade of China, that they still look to China to maintain order and protect persons and property, and that they will now afford her an opportunity of working out her own regeneration.

By its action, therefore, the Government of the United States has not only served the cause of peace and civilization, but has rendered a vast service to China, of which it cannot be doubted she must ultimately show herself worthy. Immediate aggression on the part of any of the foreign powers in China is now for the time improbable, if the Chinese Government will but honestly perform the duty of maintaining order throughout the Empire and of protecting foreigners, especially missionaries and their converts, so long as they do not violate Chinese laws. If it fails in this, it may expect, and nothing can in fact prevent, further encroachments by Western nations, and a recurrence of the events of the last few years.

In 1896 this Government proposed that China, in pursuance of her immemorial custom concerning official responsibility, and as the best means of preventing anti-foreign riots, should "hold responsible and promptly punish not only all individuals or minor officials directly or remotely involved upon the occurrence of any riot whereby peaceful American citizens were affected in person or property, or injured in their just rights, but also the viceroy or governor of the province in which the outbreak had occurred, who is directly responsible to the throne for the acts and omissions of every one of his subordinates, although his only fault may be ignorance." If the Chinese Government would take this one step, anti-foreign riots would be a thing of the past.

Financial reform in China is urgently needed, if she is to maintain her independence and take the position she is entitled to among the great nations of the world. It is simply inconceivable that she should much longer delay taking some steps in that direction; and the united efforts of the Powers should now be turned to effect the change. One of the most serious sources of financial trouble in China is the system of inland taxation called *likin*. The revenues derived from it never reach the Imperial exchequer untouched, the larger part being embezzled by those charged with its collection. To this ill-advised tax may be traced in some way or other nearly every conflict which has arisen with foreign powers since it was first imposed.

The changing of this vicious system should be the first step taken in the way of reform. By organizing this service under foreign management like that of the Chinese Maritime Customs, the Imperial treasury would gain large sums, illegal taxes would be prevented, the people of the country would be benefited, and a source of constant irritation to foreign trade would be removed. Nothing would do so much to allay anti-foreign feeling in China, to raise the prestige of the Government in the eyes of the people, and to develop trade and local industries.

Will these two steps—the protection of foreigners and their treaty rights, and the reform of the system of internal taxation—be taken by the present Cabinet at Peking? Relieved of all outside pressure, it is safe to assert that it will not take a single step in the way of reform. China has never given and never will give any encouragement or additional facilities to foreigners, except under the strongest pressure. Each successive step made in the opening of China during the present century has been gained by coercion, or by threat of such, on the part of some one of the European Powers. The greatest strides made were after the wars with Great Britain, France, and Japan; and had these not occurred it is safe to affirm that trade would still be confined to the port of Canton.

The conclusion is that pressure from the Powers must continue; but that pressure must be steady, the same from all quarters, and tend to a common end. China must be made to realize that she must reorganize her administration, must make herself a factor in the development of her resources and the guardian of her own territorial integrity, and that, if she does not, partition and subjection to foreign rule are but questions of a little time.

The position taken by the United States in demanding of the great Powers the untrammelled exercise of our rights under treaties with China has suggested to some writers in this country that we should grant to these Powers at least, and practically to all foreign Powers, the same freedom of trade, the same "open door," in the Philippines, and considerable stress has been laid on this argument by a section of our press and by many political speakers. The two cases, however, have absolutely no analogy. In China we asked simply that commercial rights already secured to us by treaties with a sovereign nation, within territory over which no other Power claimed jurisdiction, should be respected. Should any portion, however, of the Chinese Empire be ceded in absolute sovereignty to any other Power, then our rights under previous treaties with China within such ceded territory would lapse. Chinese sovereignty in such territory being extinct, that of the country acquiring it would be substituted in its stead, and our treaties with the new sovereign Power would define our rights in its newly acquired territory.

It was thus in the case of the conquest of Madagascar by the French in 1896. Until the French Government informed us categorically that Madagascar had become French territory by conquest and absorption, and that Malagasy autonomy was completely wiped out of existence, we claimed the free exercise in Madagascar of our rights under the treaty concluded in 1881 with Queen Ranavalo. From the day the French Government made a categorical declaration of the extinction of Malagasy independence, the conventions between the United States and France became applicable.

The case of the Philippines is identical. By treaty with Spain they have been acquired in absolute sovereignty by this country, and treaties made by other Powers with Spain concerning them became thereby extinct, and those concluded by the same Powers with the United States were extended to them.

Briefly stated, the results of the recent negotiations by the United States are, that, notwithstanding the encroachments made on Chinese territory and sovereignty by European Powers, the commercial interests of our people have been preserved in their entirety, and that a temporary guarantee has been secured that these will not be interfered with in any way. Furthermore, by their declarations that they expect no exclusive rights for their citizens in their sphere of interest, the Powers claiming them have not only limited the extent of their future demands, but have practically expressed an intention not to interfere henceforth with China's sovereign rights. At the same time, China is clearly given to understand that she must satisfactorily discharge the duties she has assumed through treaties.

The events of the last four years must have shown China that if she fails in these duties she is destined to share the fate of all weak states. Serious breaches of faith on the part of China, dereliction in performing her international duties, must inevitably be followed by fresh demands for territory and guarantees, and if again begun no one can predict where these will end. No Power at the present time is desirous to see the spark ignited which will produce the final catastrophe. China, and China alone, can prevent it. All of her well-wishers can but pray that she may not let the opportunity now afforded her by the United States pass away unused.

WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL.

FREE LECTURES IN NEW YORK SCHOOLS.

About twelve years ago, one of the great New York dailies said, editorially, that if the Board of Education would arrange a course of free lectures for the working classes along practical lines it might prove one of the most helpful educational adjuncts possible. Fortunately, some one in the Board realized the wisdom of the suggestion and pushed the proposition to a successful issue. In due time the matter was brought before the Legislature, which on January 9, 1888, passed an Act authorizing the Board of Education to institute courses of free lectures in the school buildings of New York City, and at the same time appropriated $15,000 to put the experiment into operation. The whole matter was then placed in the hands of the Board's Committee on Evening Schools, which arranged, for the first series, lectures on physiology, hygiene, physics, history, and political science.

The lectures were begun in 1889, and ran that year from January until April. During the season 186 lectures in all were given, at seven centres, in the most populous districts of the city; and they were attended by an aggregate of 22,149 people, or an average at each lecture of 119 persons. In the following season the work was enlarged, extending from October to April, again at seven centres, the total attendance being 26,632, or an average of 81 people at each lecture. Comparing the two seasons, the Committee were not encouraged by the result, and decided that either they had been mistaken in what had seemed to be a popular demand for this kind of instruction, or else that they had not employed the best methods in prosecuting the work. They thought a change should be made in the management, and in this the Board agreed.

At this crisis—for such it was—Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, a practical educator of wide experience and excellent qualifications, was chosen as supervisor of the free-lecture courses. In his administration many important changes were made in the methods of work, and in the means employed to popularize the lectures. He began the publication of a series of pocket bulletins giving the names of lecturers, their themes, explanatory notes, etc., in connection with each lecture centre. Ten thousand of these were distributed at each centre during the first season. Then large placards were printed announcing the whole course to be given at a particular school, and these were posted in stores, shops, factories, and other places in the vicinity. Important changes were effected in the corps of lecturers, and many specialists were placed on the staff—among them professors, ministers, scientists, physicians, travellers, and practical men of affairs. Each lecturer being more or less an authority upon his topic, the lectures soon became very popular. But the one feature which did more than anything else to draw and please large audiences was the introduction of lectures illustrated by experiments and stereopticon views. The changes in methods imposed large additional expense on the city; but this was more than justified by the results.

The work has since gone forward by leaps and bounds. The first year's report by Dr. Leipziger showed the inspiring total of 185 lectures delivered, with an attendance of 78,295—an increase of 50,000 over the preceding season. The second season after Dr. Leipziger assumed control, the attendance increased by 40,000; in the third season it increased 8,587 more; the fourth witnessed still another advance of 31,538; in the fifth year it moved ahead 53,750; in the sixth it leaped forward 168,615; and in the seventh year the attendance gained 33,624, the total that season being 426,375 persons at 1,066 lectures. The attendance last season was larger than ever before, and the work more fruitful in good results; while the present year bids fair to be by far the best of all.

There are some five hundred lecturers on the staff of the Board, about fifty lantern operators, and some thirty-five or forty local superintendents, besides inspectors and others connected with the work, aside from the office force. Each lecturer is consulted as to his themes and the manner in which he proposes to handle them. Operators, superintendents, and inspectors are employed individually for certain lecture centres at certain times. In making up the schedules arrangements are made with each lecturer concerning date, theme, and place; and when the details have been completed, the bulletin for a hall or school is printed. Proofs must be read and corrections made in the cases of some forty bulletins every two months during the lecture season. Then, two or three days prior to each lecture, the speaker is reminded of his appointment, and asked if everything is in readiness. When we consider the number of communications necessary in arranging for each lecture, and add the letters, telegrams, etc., required to keep in touch with all the operators, superintendents, opticians, and others, the clerical work alone is seen to be enormous.

When one realizes that the hundreds of thousands attending the lectures are made up almost exclusively of the great working classes whose intellectual advantages are limited, but who possess a hunger and a thirst for knowledge which they have no means of satisfying, the facts and figures are the more interesting. Looking at the situation from the view-point of those who long for a broader education, and whose efforts to win bread consume nearly all their time and energy, the scheme gains an element of pathos. To many the lectures become the gateway into a wider and richer life, because the horizon is broadened, thought is quickened, and the soul is inspired. In a recent address Dr. Leipziger said : "There are thousands of men and women who find at these lectures stimulus and guidance, and by means of this stimulus carry on their higher education with their every-day work." That this form of adult education is appreciated and valued by the people is proved beyond all question by the increasingly large attendance and sustained interest at almost every lecture centre in the city.

A distinguished educator has said : "We cannot hope to educate our people, as the citizens of a democracy should be educated, until systematic education becomes a part of the life work of every *adult* in the community. . . The church, the theatre, the book, the library, and the newspaper, valuable as they are, are still far from accomplishing the necessary result. We must adopt a more comprehensive, a more scientific, and a more systematic method of work."

Now, this problem is not so difficult, after all. We have, in our country, splendid school buildings representing an enormous investment, and which, from an industrial and economic point of view, are very much underworked. In comparison with the ordinary business establishment, the average school plant is in actual use only half the time. Unquestionably, the people to whom these public institutions belong would most gladly consent to an enlarged and comprehensive educational system by which the adults of the community might be benefited. If every public school building in our cities had a large, well-ventilated, well-lighted, attractive auditorium, or lecture-hall, and if this were made the rendezvous of the neighborhood for lectures, high-class entertainments, public receptions, and such like, there is no doubt that it would become popular with, and exercise a good influence upon, the public at large, and would also arouse among the citizens, generally, a new interest in the public schools.

The scope of the subject-matter covered by the Free Lecture System of New York is both interesting and suggestive. A number of lectures on Great Americans have been given, to the delight and profit of thousands. Washington, Samuel Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, Jackson, Frederick Douglass, Webster, Lincoln, and Grant have been discussed by different men, from various view-points. Courses on Natural Science are offered, including lectures on insects as seen under the microscope. Under the head of Travel are given a score or more of excellent lectures on various parts of the United States; some twenty-five are offered on Mexico, Central America, and Europe; and a dozen or more deal with Eastern countries and the ways of life in the Orient. During the last two seasons somewhat of a specialty has been made of lectures descriptive of our new possessions in the Atlantic and in the Pacific, which have proved extremely popular. Some forty lectures are given over and over on American history, and fifteen or twenty deal with civics and the science of popular government. General history is treated under ten or twelve topics. Forty to fifty special lectures are devoted to art, literature, and social science, while the various phases of municipal government cover about ten lectures, most of which are delivered by men of large experience along special lines.

I might enumerate and particularize almost indefinitely, for there is practically no end to this many-sided, and always interesting, scheme of adult education. But these bare outlines will serve to show the breadth of thought covered by the Free Lecture System of the New York Public Schools, and yet the enterprise has not passed out of the incipient stage. In New York, of course, talent is without limit; but any small centre of population has much latent ability that might be brought into active usefulness in such an enterprise as this.

A word concerning the business side of the system. In New York a fee of ten dollars is paid for each lecture, and three dollars each to the lantern operator and the local superintendent. Besides this, of course, there are many other items of expense, such as stereopticon outfits, printing, office-work, postage, etc. Frequently the question is asked, "Can good lecturers be secured for so small a sum?" Yes, many men of excellent platform ability are secured for this small remuneration, but doubtless the thought of helping in a great educational work is also in part the reward. A few of those assisting in the work refuse the money offered to them, putting their efforts upon a purely philanthropic basis.

Among the benefits of this new phase of adult education the following stand out as commending themselves to every thoughtful person : (1) It furnishes a school of instruction to thousands who would otherwise receive no mental stimulus; (2) it serves, to a multitude, as the means of high-class, refining entertainment ; (3) to many the lecture rooms offer a social centre, for the renewing of old acquaintances and the forming of new ones ; (4) the more studious find the lectures valuable both on account of their intrinsic merit and because of their educational suggestiveness. Familiar books are referred to, and new ones are eagerly sought, according to the recommendation of the lecturer, who very often at the close is willing to be questioned in relation to the theme of the hour.

To a greater or less extent, every community in the United States could have just such a scheme of adult education. To carry it into effect it would be necessary, in the first place, to select a competent supervisor, one who knows how to procure the right men and choose the most suitable themes for his particular community. In the second place, lectures should be arranged with the twofold purpose of entertainment and instruction. The problems of local and national issues should be discussed by able men, so that a higher civic spirit might be developed among the people ; and in every locality the public school house should be made the centre of the intellectual, moral, and civic activity of the people, with a view to the moulding of community sentiment among them. In the next place, I would suggest the enlistment of the sympathy and support of the local colleges, public-school teachers, ministers of the gospel, physicians, lawyers, editors, and leading citizens generally. Many of these could prepare one or more lectures, and help to create the public enthusiasm which is a prime factor in the successful issue of the enterprise. Every community may, with little expense, appropriate the most pleasing and far-reaching features of the University Extension and higher educational movements.

The splendid results of this work in New York cannot be tabulated, and it is encouraging to see that the idea is spreading to other cities and towns, and that it will no doubt continue to spread throughout the country. S. T. WILLIS.

A PLEA FOR TREES AND PARKS IN CITIES.

THE sudden changes of temperature for which the city of New York is noted, though taxing the strength of all, naturally weigh most heavily upon the poor. This is particularly true of the summer months, when the mortality rises 30 per cent over and above the average death-rate for the year. When the heat is greatest, and especially when the periods of high temperature extend over many consecutive days, the mortality is simply appalling among the destitute living in the packed tenement districts where every square inch of available space is utilized, and where as many as 100 persons are sometimes crowded into a five-story dwelling built upon an area of only 2,500 square feet. On the streets the conditions are not much better; for here the heat is greatly intensified by reflection from brick walls and asphalt pavements, and, in some quarters, the air is vitiated by decaying garbage and other foci of infection.

In view of all these unfavorable circumstances the question arises, Cannot something be done to mitigate them? In other words, is it not possible to provide more breathing places for the multitude?

To this my answer is decidedly in the affirmative; for the possibility of effecting improvements in New York is quite evident from the precedent established in other cities. Let us see what some of these have accomplished before entering upon the discussion of what may be done for the Metropolis.

The densely populated portions of London have been completely remodelled by the County Council of that city; and to-day the British metropolis is traversed by continuous chains of open squares, gardens, and parks. Paris, also, has become completely transformed, and its "Mysteries," as Eugene Sue named the reeking slums of the French capital, have been removed; the demolition of these pernicious and unsafe dwellings and the thorough renovation of the city in consequence thereof being due to the efforts of Baron Haussmann, the appointee of Napoleon III. Truly marvellous were the changes then effected. Bulwarks were converted into boulevards, and prisons into gardens; shade-trees, propagated in 66,000 square metres of hot-houses, were planted in the broad avenues now the pride and boast of the French capital. Nearly thirty years were required to make these improvements, and over $150,000,000 were expended upon them. Yet this expenditure was more than counterbalanced by the resultant increase in prosperity ; for the willingness and ability of Parisians to meet assessments for such improvements has increased in even greater ratio than has their municipal indebtedness.

Vienna, Cologne, and other fortified cities followed the example of Paris, abolishing their antiquated nuisances with results equally beneficial. In some places conflagrations hastened the work of reform. Hamburg, for instance, was visited by a fire in 1842 which reduced a large portion of the city to ashes ; the area of destruction being further widened by cannon sent from Berlin to level property in the pathway of the flames. It was upon this heap of ashes that the present city, the finest port of Germany, was built. In 1872 Chicago was visited by a similar catastrophe. Here, also, a great many rookeries were destroyed ; and the rapid growth of the Queen of the West dates from the compulsory improvement inaugurated at that time. We should not wait here in America until such visitations make the rebuilding of our cities imperative. Many of our towns are built on forest-land, and in planning them we can make provision for public parks and squares. Such was the foresight that governed our forefathers in laying out the streets of Washington, D. C., one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

Coming to New York and its breathing spaces, it is hardly necessary to say that Central Park has doubtless proved the greatest boon ever bestowed upon our city. In 1856 the territory embraced within our present park limits was a rude, uncultivated tract distinguished by swamps, creeks, and rocky gulches, and inhabited by squatters ; the only landmarks at that time being the Block House, the home at Mt. St. Vincent, the Arsenal, and here and there a private dwelling. Yet this land, purchased by the city at a cost of about $16,000,000, has, by reason of the improvements made upon it, so enhanced the desirability of the property in adjoining districts that the assessed valuation of the latter has gradually advanced to over $500,000,000.

This fact expresses more eloquently than words the material benefit which the park has brought us. Statistics show that it has improved our health ; but its real charm must be seen to be appreciated. There are taller trees in old Hyde Park, broader driveways in the Bois de Boulogne ; but a happy combination of art and nature has made these 800 acres of ground one of the loveliest of urban resorts. With all its advantages, however, except on holidays it is hardly used by the poor, who live at too great a distance to go there for the fresh air they need.

Although the total amount of space devoted to parks in New York is comparatively greater than that allotted elsewhere, nevertheless our city is painfully destitute of air-space where such is most essential. While the Borough of the Bronx, with a population of 163,000, has 4,000 acres of park land, and Brooklyn, with a population of 1,231,000, has 1,575 acres, Manhattan Borough, with its population of 2,000,000, is restricted to the extremely limited park area of 1,300 acres. Of these, only eighty are situated in the twenty wards south of Fortieth Street, where 1,100,000 of our population are housed ; so that the area occupied by over half the population of Manhattan is virtually destitute of public grounds, 13,750 people sharing one acre of park ground between them.

The encroachment upon our park ground constitutes a sad chapter in our history. In 1867 St. John's Park, shaded by graceful elms, was covered by a freight-depot and wholly obliterated. Battery Park, formerly our public garden, has been disfigured by the unsightly structure of an elevated railroad. The greater part of City Hall Park, at one time one of the most beautiful spots in the city, is now occupied by Mail Street, the Federal Post Office, and the Court House. The removal of the Post Office to a more central location would again give the city control of the site upon which that building is located ; and this area could be further enlarged by the building of a new Court House elsewhere, the present structure having frequently been condemned by the Board of Health. Such measures would facilitate the restoration of the old park to its former size and beauty, and would prove a blessing to the numerous occupants of the neighboring sky-scrapers as well as to the crowds who in future will emerge from or go to the Park Row depot of the cars of the Rapid Transit Tunnel.

To compensate for the spoliation of this once beautiful spot, a few small parks have been created in the lower part of the city. Among these, Mulberry Bend alone is deserving of special commendation. The adjoining "Paradise Square," where five thoroughfares meet—hence appropriately called the "Five Points"—was fifty years ago the centre of crime and misery. One alley of this neighborhood bore the significant name, "Murderers' Row." This was the haunt of the notorious gang, "The Dead Rabbits," who terrorized the district between Broadway and the Bowery. This locality has now been completely transformed: three acres of open ground occupy the site of the former squalid dens; trees, which have scarcely had time to grow, have cleared the vitiated atmosphere; and terrorizing criminals have been compelled to make room for frugal Italian laborers.

Another plot of three acres, bounded by East Broadway, Norfolk, Hester, and Essex Streets, has been acquired for the formation of "Seward Park." This pleasure-ground is situated within the borders of the Tenth Ward, where 70,000 persons, principally Hebrews, live on 109 acres of ground, *i.e.*, 643 to an acre. The dilapidated structures which covered the spot proposed for the park have been demolished, and the encircling houses, with all their misery, have become painfully visible. Here the Recreation League has temporarily arranged a playground, where swarms of children congregate, and their merrymaking is in singular contrast to the careworn faces of their parents, which show but too plainly that their hopes of finding an asylum in this country have been by no means realized. If some of their more fortunate brethren could witness the misery prevailing in this portion of the city, I am sure they would not permit another summer to pass without providing "Seward Park" with vegetation. The evening concerts which the city furnishes here must sound like mockery to persons suffering from insufficient food and water.

As to water, better provision has been made in other districts. A spacious building containing public baths is now being erected in the prospective "Hamilton Fish Park," comprising the square bounded by Houston, Pitt, Willett, and Sheriff Streets. Yet this building, estimated to cost $80,000, will encroach on space required for fresh air and for light. Far more successfully have the advantages of our river front been utilized at Corlears Hook Park, a resort which is constantly growing in favor with East Siders.

Several suggestions regarding our opportunities for improvement occur to me. In the first place and above all, I desire to call attention to the shore-line running parallel to Blackwell's Island. Owing to the strong currents at Hell Gate, the entire stretch between the Long Island and the Astoria ferries—that is, from Thirty-fourth Street to Ninety-second Street—is unadapted to the landing of cargoes, and consequently is almost entirely devoid of piers; only a few being used for the landing of coal and lumber. If the entire river front were converted into a shore park, instead of the twelve acres north of Eighty-fourth Street, and the square bounded by Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Streets, between First and Second Avenues, the change would materially benefit the greatly congested German and Irish districts of the East Side, and at the same time increase the taxable value of the adjacent property. Unless heroic measures are taken this section will eventually become the Whitechapel of New York. In the streets between First and Second Avenues many vile resorts are found, while the space between First Avenue and the river has been appropriated for gasworks, malt-houses, and abattoirs.

Those portions of the city west of Seventh Avenue between Forty-second and Fifty-ninth Streets, and west of Ninth Avenue below Forty-second Street, at present contain not only the poorest, but also the worst, elements of our population. Here our police have frequently been attacked by the so-called "tripe" gang, and other lawless bands infesting that section. Eleventh Avenue is almost completely monopolized by trains. There is but one recreation pier in the neighborhood—recently erected at the foot of Fiftieth Street—and this is greatly overcrowded during the summer months.

It has been proposed to convert the section extending from Fifty-second to Fifty-fourth Streets, and as far back as Eleventh Avenue, into a pleasure-ground—the "De Witt Clinton Park." On this spot, surrounded by sturdy oaks, stood the century-old homesteads of the Mott and Striker families; but it has been recently hired for a dumping-ground, so that the fair old landmark has been despoiled of the trees remaining upon it. As it is, the few dilapidated cottages remaining still bear the name of Striker's Alley, which leads to an elevation where the Recreation League has established one of its well-patronized gymnasiums. Undoubtedly, Clinton Park will serve to improve the condition of its immediate environment; but it is altogether too limited in area to exert a favorable influence upon the district as a whole. A far greater improvement is now possible, in view of the fact that the growing necessity of building piers along the entire North River front will in turn lead to the construction of a broad marginal avenue from the Battery to Fifty-ninth Street. Evidences of such an avenue are already visible at Christopher Street and at various points along the Battery. What a splendid opportunity for small parks would be here afforded! From Manhattan Market, at the foot of Thirty-fourth Street, to the terminus, a strip of land might be reserved—except at street crossings—wide enough for a continuous line of small parks similar in size to those extending along Park Avenue. The only requisite here would be proper soil, banked sufficiently high to admit of the planting of numerous trees.

If owners of large tracts of real estate, now remaining unimproved, were to assist in making such a betterment along the river, they would soon be repaid by finding lucrative employment for their property. Since the Back Bay of Boston was redeemed, the district has been transformed from a morass into the proudest quarter of the American Athens. Within three years from the time that work was actually begun (1877), the surrounding estates had risen 50 per cent in value; and this transformation has now spread far beyond Brookline. Similar improvements in New York would be attended by equally beneficial results; and instead of being ashamed of the gates to our city, as we now must be, we should become proud of them. Wherever passengers descend from boat or bridge they should be welcomed on our shores by a strip of greensward. As the tourist approaches harbors of the Mediterranean lying in the same latitude as our own, his eye everywhere beholds busy quays fringed with fresh verdure; when he ascends the North River, he gazes upon a succession of nuisances all the way from the Cunard dock to Seventy-second Street. The contemplated extension of Riverside Drive Park to Spuyten Duyvil has been estimated to cost $30,000,000, and will, when finished, benefit for some time to come a very limited number of people: a small expenditure for the modest extension of Riverside Drive to the south would at once benefit a great portion of the population, and perhaps clear the entire shore of crime.

One of the sanitary improvements perfected in London has been the conversion of a number of abandoned graveyards into public squares. We also have made a beginning in this direction—I refer to the obliteration of the cemetery at the corner of Hudson and Leroy Streets. Similarly, the "Small Park Commission" of 1897 has recommended the condemnation of Marble Cemetery, hidden between First and Second Avenues, and Second and Third Streets. This also might be well utilized as a recreation ground for children. Almost the entire square between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets, and between Avenue A and First Avenue, is filled with time-worn gravestones. This dismal spot might well be converted into a playground, more particularly as it would form an admirable annex to Tompkins Square, where, as in other small parks, children are not permitted to play on the grass.

The value of trees as agents of sanitation has ever been recognized. Here I need refer only to the example of the Romans, who reared olive-trees to absorb the malarial effluvia of the Campagna. Nor has this fact been overlooked now ; for in many cities of the world, rows of trees have been planted in the streets, to serve as arteries for the circulation of purified air. Unfortunately, New York is a glaring exception to the rule, although no city ever presented finer opportunities for the cultivation of arboreta. When Henry Hudson discovered Manhattan Island, he found it covered with a primeval forest, traces of which may still be seen on Washington Heights and along the Boulevard Lafayette. In the days when the city barely extended beyond Fourteenth Street, and when our population was still comparatively poor, the trees surrounding the dwellings of our citizens were objects of pride and solicitude. To-day, the numerous stumps in the sidewalks of downtown streets bear silent witness to that ruthless process of extermination which has despoiled our city of its fairest ornaments.

The conspicuous absence of trees from the residential streets of modern New York is hard to explain. Rich men who live here only during the winter appear to take very little interest in their fellow-citizens who are compelled to remain in town all summer. In some instances, indeed, the absence of trees in front of houses situated upon our park and river fronts seems to suggest a fear on the part of the owner that foliage might obscure architecture, apparently oblivious of the fact that the beauty of a dwelling is frequently enhanced thereby. As it is, few of our side-streets are embellished with vegetation ; and even along the Boulevard—an avenue highly favored by nature—the trees are neglected. This is true also of Seventh Avenue above Central Park, St. Nicholas Avenue, and of all other thoroughfares not placed under the jurisdiction of the Park Commissioners—a body which should be authorized to exercise control over every avenue upon which the preservation of the trees is desirable. Except in front of St. Luke's Hospital, Morningside Drive, which is the glory of upper New York, is to-day barren of trees on its western side ; while on the historic King's Bridge Road the few trees still remaining are sadly neglected. What must we think of a corporation that recently spent the enormous sum of $7,000,000 on the construction of the Harlem Speedway, without exercising sufficient foresight to provide that fine avenue with a row of shade-trees for the protection of riders and drivers and their horses?

How different are the conditions in other American cities! Boston has its Commonwealth Avenue and other fine parkways which connect the old town with the suburbs. Buffalo boasts its Delaware Avenue, the ideal of an American boulevard, lined with comfortable homes, each surrounded by its garden. The residential portion of Euclid Avenue in Cleveland is equally beautiful, and even the founders of Chicago have shown their appreciation of verdure. When I visited that city, Michigan Avenue was lined with cottages surrounded by gardens, and presented a distinctively rural aspect. These cottages have now been superseded by substantial residences, hotels, and club-houses; and the avenue, which, forty years ago, was hardly open beyond Twelfth Street, the present site of the Illinois Central Railroad Depot, has been extended for miles. Yet such is its attractiveness to-day that it is everywhere referred to as a model of elegant municipal construction.

But why go as far as Chicago? Have not our friends across the bridge their Ocean Parkway and other shady driveways? In the Borough of Brooklyn a person that injures a tree is brought to justice; in Manhattan, arboreal laws are not enforced. The maltreatment of a dog is punishable; while the destruction of the silver maple, which may live and shelter our progeny for five hundred years, is not regarded as a serious offence. The forestry laws of Germany prohibit a person from felling a tree on his own premises without the consent of the authorities. Indeed, so stringent are these laws that when permission is granted to take a tree from the Black Forest, the owner is required to plant two in its place. The advocacy of such severe measures in a country like our own, where many acres of forest land are annually converted into railroad ties, is, of course, out of the question. Nevertheless, something should be done to arrest the wholesale destruction of our trees, and the establishment of societies for this purpose should be strongly encouraged.

The proposed extension of our highways renders a rigorous enforcement of our arboreal laws still more imperative. The development of New York has been, in some respects, somewhat similar to that of London, Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Philadelphia, and other cities located on rivers. First confined to Manhattan Island, it has gradually spread across the river—this extension toward the east having been accelerated by the narrow shape of the island, which renders communication from north to south extremely difficult. Thirty-five millions have now been voted for the tunnel to connect

Park Row with the Bronx and Spuyten Duyvil; and it is further proposed to raise a loan of millions of dollars for parks and driveways in the thinly inhabited districts above One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street. Yet the early accomplishment of one of the chief objects of the tunnel, the extension of the city northward, is a matter of serious doubt. A ten-mile ride underground must remain disagreeable in spite of all modern improvements; nor is it likely that the poorer classes will migrate northward so long as land in that section is comparatively expensive. The enormous growth of Brooklyn consequent upon the building of the bridge has demonstrated that municipal expansion naturally tends eastward—that the inclination of the city is to expand in that direction rather than to lengthen. Far more important, therefore, than the tunnel is the proposed bridge over Blackwell's Island, which, when completed, will enable East Siders to reach that geographical centre of Greater New York where lots which, in Harlem, would bring from one to two thousand dollars may be bought for as many hundred, and where a whole cottage may be rented at a rate not exceeding the price of a single room on the East Side. The reason is plain enough. Queens Borough has a population of about 135,000 upon an area of 142 square miles, while the two Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx together harbor a population of over 2,000,000 upon an area of sixty-two square miles.

In view of these facts, Queens Borough, which undoubtedly is destined in time to become thickly populated, should be made as attractive as possible to prospective residents. No district of Greater New York presents finer opportunities for boulevards and for the creation of parks and playgrounds. Here, at last, we may relinquish that rectangular system which makes most American cities look so commonplace, and adopt, instead, diagonal crossings, with small parks and squares at every convenient point. The larger thoroughfares at present existing should be widened, and thus eventually become united with the central approach to the bridge. One of these, Jackson Avenue, leads from Thirty-fourth Street ferry to the charming village of Flushing, where shade-trees in great variety have for several generations been cultivated by public-spirited citizens. Another, Thomson Avenue, and its continuation the Hoffman Boulevard, leads to Jamaica, whose Forest Park, although nearer to the Battery than Grant's Tomb, is almost unknown. This sylvan retreat comprises 500 acres of virgin forest, traversed by secluded driveways and situated on hilly ground commanding a very extensive view of the surrounding country.

These are but a few examples of the excellent opportunities for municipal improvement afforded by the most extensive borough of Greater New York. The following table shows the annual total expenditure of four of the most important cities in the world, together with the amounts each of them has used for parks and parkways :

	TOTAL BUDGET.	FOR PARKS, ETC.
London	$68,739,000	$537,950
Paris	$71,735,000	$500,700
New York	$92,520,000	$1,729,000
Chicago	$32,000,000	$1,250,000

Those who know the advantages of London and Paris over New York and Chicago, and compare the economical administration of those cities with our own, will appreciate that we have still some lessons to learn in municipal government. LOUIS WINDMÜLLER.

THE REMNANT OF OUR NATIONAL ESTATE.

The founders of our government left to their successors a material legacy greater than any recorded in the history of nations. This material heritage left to the people of the United States, and in great part recklessly squandered by their representatives, was a public domain that seemed likely to preclude forever the development of a "land question." Of the present area of the United States, not including island possessions, 2,889,175 square miles, or more than three-fourths of the whole, once belonged to the Government—that is, to the entire nation. Under what Mr. Joseph Nimmo calls "the wise and beneficent policy" of transferring the public lands to actual settlers at the lowest possible cost, all parties have competed with each other in dissipating this magnificent estate. When Congress hesitated to give the money of its own generation to an importunate corporation, it was always willing to compromise by mortgaging the industry of future generations through lavish grants of land.

In Europe, the land question is the question of how to deal with existing landlords. If there were no landlords, there would be no problem. If the land of England belonged by unquestioned legal title to the people of England, there is probably no responsible statesman in the kingdom who would propose to sell it or to give it away.

This problem is one from which we started free. Except in the older States the National Government was the sole landlord. In future ages men will scarcely believe that we went deliberately to work to introduce the very complications from which we were initially free. Practically, all the immediately available part of our public domain is gone. We have given away mining and arable lands to anybody that would take them; we have sold timber lands to speculators at two dollars and a half per acre when the trees on them alone were worth from ten to a hundred dollars; and we have made the "actual settler" a stalking-horse for the landlord. The process has been varied. Sometimes the settler has taken up his claim in good faith, and has then sold it on securing his patent. Sometimes he has lost it through the devouring mortgage. Sometimes he has been the mere hired man of the speculator, and has taken up his quarter-section for his employer's benefit in consideration of a small fee. Sometimes the capitalist has bought vast areas of railroad land and fenced them all in, enclosing alternate sections of government land and freezing the small settlers out.

So far, so bad. The 1,200,000,000 acres already thrown away include almost all the land upon which a man with no capital but his hands and his industry could hope to settle and extract an independent living from the soil. That chapter is closed. The scramble for the poor crumbs of Oklahoma and the Sioux Reservation gave formal notice of the fact. But is nothing more to be done? Are the American people to resign themselves to a position of contented landlessness? Fortunately there is one part of our domain which has not yet been disposed of, because nobody as yet has wanted it. It is what is commonly known as the "arid region," and comprises those lands on which the natural rainfall is insufficient to mature crops. The region contains some of the most fertile land in the country. All it needs is water, and, in some parts at least, there is an abundance of water if it be properly used. The Government still owns about 560,000,000 acres of land outside of Alaska. Most of this is in the arid belt: a large part of it is hopelessly barren mountain and desert; but much is fertile soil, easily susceptible of reclamation. Probably a hundred million acres could be irrigated at once without extraordinary expense, and millions of acres more could be brought into use as the system of irrigation became developed and improved.

On this last landed reserve the pressure of population is already beginning to be felt, and irrigation is becoming a "live issue." Some years ago a Senatorial Committee made a tour of the arid region, investigating the capabilities of the country; and, as a result, bills for the promotion of irrigation are pending in both houses of Congress. But, in all the discussion of this subject, it seems to be taken for granted that the Government has no interest in the land except to get rid of it at the earliest possible moment. One scheme provides for the alienation of the land in small tracts, under the conditions of the Homestead laws; another proposes to distribute it among the States; and another would take for a model the Desert Land Act, which allowed a single person to take up a tract of 640 acres on condition of reclaiming it. With the combined assistance of this law and of the Southern Pacific grant, one "settler" acquired an imperial domain of 500,000 acres of the richest land in California. The traveller could drive for thirty miles along the outside of this humble farmer's fence without seeing a farmhouse.

What does the Government gain by disposing of its lands in this way? In this single instance it has given away a property which is worth at least $10,000,000 now and will be worth $50,000,000 in a few years, and it has not acquired a class of small freeholders in return. It could have insured forever the maintenance of a race of small tenants on that estate, paying moderate rents to the government, enjoying security of tenure, and making a good living for themselves. Instead, it has preferred to turn it all over to a single landlord, who has worked it as Southern plantations were worked before the war, and who, to carry out the parallel, has imported trainloads of negro laborers from the South.

It has been the theory of our land laws that every American citizen is entitled to a share of the public domain. We have carried out that theory by the artless method of allowing every citizen to take his chances in a general grab. We have offered 160 acres of land to anybody that could find a piece to suit him, and would agree to make his home on it. Those American citizens who have been unable or unwilling to move to the frontier themselves, and have had scruples against hiring others to take up land for them, have been deprived of their share of the common inheritance. A simple arithmetical computation will show that even if everybody tried to get a homestead there would not be quarter-sections enough to go round, so that the great majority of the people would have to remain landless. It is as if a bequest consisting of ten city lots in Philadelphia were to be left to a hundred persons—men, women, and children—some living in California, some in Montana, some in Texas, some in New York, and some in Maine, and a Court should undertake to divide the property among the heirs by giving the ten lots to the first ten claimants who should take possession of them. The right of the poorest sewing-girl in a Pearl Street tenement to her share of the public domain is as good as that of any of the speculators who are fencing it in; but how, under existing laws, is she going to get it? The only just and scientific way of dividing landed property among a heterogeneous multitude of owners is to divide the proceeds of it; and since there are insuperable objections to the plan of trying to sell our public domain for anything like its real value, the reasonable method of procedure is to rent it and apply the returns to the expenses of the Government.

Some of the arid lands of California that have been reclaimed by private enterprise have risen in a few years from a valuation of $1.25 to one of $500 an acre. A hundred dollars an acre is a common price, and it is probable that within a few years not a single acre of good irrigated land in California can be had for less than fifty. Let us assume that the measures shortly to be adopted by Congress will result in the early reclamation of 100,000,000 acres of desert land. At $10 an acre the value of this property would be $1,000,000,000; at $50 an acre it would be $5,000,000,000; at $100 an acre it would be $10,000,000,000. By what right can any Congress give away this splendid inheritance of the whole American people to the first squatters who may happen to scramble for it?

In California, tenants often pay more than $5 an acre rent for bare land and settle the water rates in addition. At such charges, the Government could draw $500,000,000 a year from 100,000,000 acres —enough to pay all its legitimate expenses without taxation and allow a handsome contribution to the treasuries of the States. And nobody would be burdened: the rents could be fixed with a generous regard to the earning capacities of the land; the Government would be no rack-renting landlord, like those who are now flourishing under the protection of its preposterous laws; nobody would take up a farm unless he saw his way clear to paying his rent and getting a good return for his money; and the "unearned increment" would go to the whole people, to whom it justly belongs. The farming population would gain by the new system. Under the present conditions in the arid regions, the men who actually bring small tracts to their highest state of cultivation are burdened by enormous fixed charges on their land. The men who take up 160 acres each under the Homestead laws are not those who, in the language of the real estate circulars, "make the desert to blossom as the rose."

Sometimes a capitalist secures a vast domain at the outset and gains the entire benefit of the unearned increment for himself; winning great applause as a public benefactor when, in the course of time, he graciously consents to sell off a part of his estate in small tracts at $20, $30, or $40 an acre. A common order of progression is this: The pioneer settler drifts along from Pike County, Missouri, builds a cabin, and establishes himself on a quarter-section of land with his hogs, dogs, and chickens. He scratches the ground every year, and takes the chances of raising a crop of wheat without irrigation. Occasionally he succeeds; more often he fails; but, as the value of his land is steadily rising, the storekeeper lets him have flour, sugar, tobacco, and whiskey, and takes his note at outrageous interest. In the course of years the bill gets too large to be allowed to run any longer, and the storekeeper takes the land. He holds it, renting it out on shares, until the speculator comes along and bonds it for perhaps ten dollars an acre in anticipation of a boom. The speculator puts up a notice claiming most of the water in the adjacent river, starts an irrigating ditch, and puts the land on the market in twenty-acre lots at twenty dollars an acre. When a few lots have been sold, he raises the price to fifty dollars; and before the various farms he has bonded are disposed of, he is selling for $100 an acre the land for which the original settlers scarcely got whiskey and tobacco. The men who pay this price take what money they have left and begin to plant trees and vines. They are burdened from the start with annual interest payments of five or ten dollars an acre, with the whole principal sunk in addition. If they were renting from the Government they would have no more to pay in rent than they now have to pay in interest, and their capital would be free for current operations. Whatever money they had they could turn over every year, instead of being compelled to lock it up once for all in their land.

It is a mistake to suppose that the average small farmer of the West would rather own his land than rent it on easy terms with assured possession. As it is, the nominal owner is usually not a real freeholder—he is only a tenant of the mortgagee. There are always more applications for a farm that is to let than for one that is for sale. With the Government as landlord, with speculative prices abolished, and with permanency of tenure as security for improvements assured, this tendency would be still more marked.

There is an additional reason for the maintenance of the common ownership in the arid lands. It is, that the system of private ownership, which works after a fashion in rainy countries, is productive of infinite confusion in regions dependent upon irrigation. The owner of forty acres of land in Illinois or Indiana is independent of all the world except the storekeeper. He plants his corn, and the rain waters it. He interferes with nobody, and nobody interferes with him. But in the arid regions no farmer can work by himself. Without water the land is worthless, and the water must be shared with hundreds of others. The entire territory dependent upon a given stream is an entity, and should be administered on a general system.

The attempt to reconcile Eastern notions of property in land and water with Western conditions has been responsible for an endless waste of money and energy, and has hindered the reclamation of the desert more than any other single cause. The theory of the common law is, that the owner of the land on the bank of a river has a right to the undiminished flow of the water in its old channel. This theory, destructive of all possibilities of systematic irrigation, has been applied to California with disastrous results. The money and labor that have been spent by riparian owners and appropriators in fighting one another for the right to monopolize the life blood of the State would have checkered the plains with vineyards. The universal assumption having been that the resources upon which all depend must, in the order of things, be grabbed by somebody, the only question until recently has been whether they should be grabbed by the persons who had squatted on the lower course of the streams or by the persons who had stuck up notices of appropriation higher up.

Of late years an attempt has been made to combine private ownership in land with public ownership of water in irrigation districts. It is too soon to tell how this scheme is going to work, but anybody who has ever done any practical farming in an arid region can imagine the difficulties that are likely to arise under such an arrangement. A body of private land-owners engaged in a work in which the co-operation of all is necessary resembles the old Polish Diet with its *liberum veto*. One man, cranky or selfish, standing upon the inalienable constitutional rights of property, may upset a whole broadly planned scheme of improvement. To insure the best development of an irrigable region, it is essential that the supreme proprietorship of both land and water shall be in the hands of the community. The right of private possession ought to be preserved whenever practicable; but in the last resort the unquestioned power to manage the whole territory for the general good should belong to the representatives of the entire people. The dominant need in the development of the possibilities of the arid region is system, and a thorough system is impossible in the present state of affairs.

I have spoken of the probable returns from a hundred million acres of land. But when we consider that of the 560,000,000 acres still in possession of the Government much more than a hundred million can be eventually cultivated; that a large part of the remainder is valuable for grazing; that in the mountains there are rich mines of coal, gold, silver, copper, and tin yet undeveloped; and that there are vast stretches of forest whose preservation is essential to the future welfare of the country, it is obvious that the wealth still at our disposition is incalculable. Even the remnant of our national estate is a noble inheritance. Shall we throw it away as we have thrown away all the rest? At the present time the revenues annually drawn by private individuals from lands practically given away by the Government would not only meet all our public expenses—National, State, and local—and leave us free of all taxation, but we should have left a surplus for such useful enterprises as no government has yet felt rich enough to undertake. Instead of applying this stream of wealth to such purposes, we have burdened industry with double taxes, one for the support of the Government, and the other, and vastly heavier tax, to pay the speculator for permission to use the land the Government foolishly gave away.

It is a curious fact that the American people can see clearly the truth about this subject when it is presented on a small scale, but that they are utterly blind to it on a large one. When a city owns a few lots every one agrees that it ought to keep them. San Francisco has a little business property, the income of which goes toward the support of the schools. If anybody should advocate the sale of that property he would be set down as a corrupt jobber, and people would ask what there was in it for him. In building the sea wall along the water front of that city, the Harbor Commissioners have reclaimed a number of triangular bits of ground that could be made valuable for storage and other purposes, and public sentiment is so impressed with the importance of retaining these tracts that it forbids not merely the sale, but even the lease of them for more than a few years at a time. And yet if all the land of San Francisco were public property to-day, as it was a comparatively short time ago, in all probability the first thing that would be done would be to appoint a land agent and sell it off to the first comer.

Before the Canadians injured our sealing industry we leased the sealing privilege on two small islands in Alaska for enough to pay the entire cost of the whole Territory, principal and interest, within ten years. If we had followed our usual policy we should have sold the islands of St. Paul and St. George, seals and all, for $1.25 or $2.50 an acre, or else we should have given them away to the first "actual settler" that came along and filed a claim. Most people will admit that we adopted a wiser course. The reason we adopted it was that it seemed the only way to preserve the seals. But aside from that, did it not justify itself from a financial point of view? If there had been no question of preserving the seals at all, would the people have consented to give away a resource that had shown its ability to turn nearly a million dollars a year into the National Treasury? And if it would have been wrong to give away the seal islands, why was it right to give away the great gold mines on Douglas Island, which support the largest stamp mill in the world? Why was it right to turn over to millionaires instead of to the people the profits of the Anaconda, the Calumet and Hecla, the North Bloomfield and the Consolidated Virginia? Why is it right to give to reckless lumbermen the privilege of destroying for their own immediate profit the magnificent and priceless forests upon which the future habitability of the country depends? It is time for a radical change in our methods of dealing with the remnant of the public domain, and, in my opinion, the proper steps to be taken are these:

(1) The immediate and absolute repeal of all laws authorizing the permanent alienation of any portion of the remaining government lands.

(2) The appointment of a Commission to classify these lands according to the purposes for which they are best adapted.

(3) The substitution of leases for patents in all grants to individuals or corporations; the conditions of the lease to be regulated by the character and situation of the land.

(4) The opening of the entire public domain to actual settlers, with assured possession during compliance with the terms of occupancy; all lands below a certain margin of cultivation to be free from rent until such time as the progress of settlement makes them substantially valuable.

These measures would save for us something of the splendid patrimony which we are now recklessly dissipating. But they must be taken promptly if they are to do any good. Already even Alaska is fixed by the glittering eye of the promoter; the forests of Maine, of Michigan, and of California are becoming a memory, and from Arizona to Washington the choicest spots of the West are becoming the prey of the boomer.

SAMUEL E. MOFFETT.

THE HAY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY.

On February 5, 1900, the President of the United States transmitted to the Senate for its ratification an agreement which has become known as the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. Shortly before its transmission to the Senate the Secretary of State, Mr. Hay, and the British ambassador, Lord Pauncefote, appended their signatures to the convention. The treaty thus proposed was negotiated to facilitate the construction of a ship canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The Senate referred the treaty to the Committee on Foreign Relations, which reported it on March 9 with the following amendment:

> Insert at the end of section 5 of article 2 the following: "It is agreed, however, that none of the immediately foregoing conditions and stipulations in sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 of this act shall apply to measures which the United States may find it necessary to take for securing by its own forces the defence of the United States and the maintenance of public order."

Senator Morgan was the only member of the Committee opposed to the amendment, and the Administration was reported as greatly displeased with the action of the Committee.

The amendment did not satisfy the opponents of the treaty. They declared that it was vague, inadequate, and unsatisfactory, and that if it were adopted it would breed international complications. It was as unsatisfactory to the State Department as it was to Lord Pauncefote; and as soon as the text of the proposed amendment was known it is said to have been cabled by the Ambassador to the Cabinet in London, with the emphatically expressed opinion that the amendment should not be accepted by Great Britain. The amendment is regarded as practically nullifying the original agreement. If amended in the form proposed, the treaty would probably be the most self-contradictory agreement ever concluded. The amendment seems to be an attempt to embody two antagonistic principles in the same compact. After providing for the neutralization and nonfortification of the canal, it gives the United States the right in time of war to nullify the whole arrangement. The nations of Europe cannot be expected to guarantee the neutrality of the canal if the United States are to be at liberty to disregard the provisions of the treaty. If the powers of Europe accept the amendment, they will accept anything. It does not seem within the range of probability that Great Britain, or, indeed, any other European state, will accede to such an agreement.

It is said that this amendment is similar to the one in the Treaty of Constantinople of 1888 neutralizing the Suez Canal. Between the two, however, there is a most important difference, which the Senate Committee has ignored. It is agreed, it is true, in Article X of the Constantinople Convention that certain stipulations of the treaty shall in no case occasion any obstacle to the measures which the Imperial Ottoman Government might think it necessary to take in order to insure, by its own forces, the defence of its other possessions situated on the eastern coast of the Red Sea. But in the succeeding article it is expressly declared that the measures which the Ottoman Government might take for the defence of its possessions should not interfere with the free use of the canal, neither should they extend to the erection of any permanent fortifications. This restriction of power is not embodied in the Senate amendment. The exemption granted to Turkey in Article X of the Suez agreement was not embodied in the original draft of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty because it was not thought applicable to our conditions. The United States have no waterway that corresponds geographically to the Red Sea on the western coast of Arabia. Since we have no such possession in or near Nicaragua, we have no need to reserve a special right to defend it. As Senator Morgan explained to the Committee and to the Senate, Turkey made no reservation of a right to defend Constantinople when she reserved the right to defend her coast on the Red Sea, which is an approach to the canal.

In 1854 the Dallas-Clarendon treaty was negotiated to settle certain disputes that had arisen under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. It failed because of an amendment which the Senate made to the clause relating to the Bay Islands of Honduras, an amendment which the British Government declined to accept. We predict a like fate for the Hay-Pauncefote agreement should the Senate amend the treaty in the manner proposed by its Committee on Foreign Relations. The legal effect of such an amendment would be the annulment of the neutralization of the canal.

The Hay-Pauncefote treaty is intended to modify, not to abrogate, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. The convention of 1850 deprived the United States, and Great Britain as well, of the right to obtain exclusive control over the ship canal. The first article of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty is as follows:

> The Governments of the United States and Great Britain hereby declare that neither the one nor the other will ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said ship canal; agreeing that neither will ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same or in the vicinity thereof, or occupy, or fortify or colonize, or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America ; nor will either make use of any protection which either affords or may afford, or any alliance which either has or may have to or with any state or people, for the purpose of erecting or maintaining any such fortifications, or of occupying, fortifying, or colonizing Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America, or of assuming or exercising dominion over the same ; nor will the United States or Great Britain take advantage of any intimacy, or use any alliance, connection, or influence that either may possess with any state or government through whose territory the said canal may pass, for the purpose of acquiring or holding, directly or indirectly, for the citizens or subjects of the one, any rights or advantages in regard to commerce or navigation through the said canal which shall not be offered on the same terms to the citizens or subjects of the other.

The convention of 1900 modifies that of 1850 by providing in the first article that the canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States. No like concession is made to Great Britain, which still remains subject to the restrictions imposed by the convention of 1850. The principle embodied in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty—that the canal is not to be fortified—is re-asserted in the Hay-Pauncefote agreement; and the same is true of the "general principle" of neutralization established in Article VIII of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

The Clayton-Bulwer treaty was concluded April 19, 1850, by John M. Clayton, at that time Secretary of State under President Taylor, and by Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, the British Minister at Washington. Its ratification in the Senate was secured by a vote of forty-two to eleven. Webster, Clay, Cass, and Seward were then members of the Senate; each voted for the ratification of the treaty, and each afterward became Secretary of State. Salmon P. Chase, who represented Ohio in the Senate, voted for the treaty, and Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, opposed it. In 1853 Mr. Seward made a speech in the Senate defending the treaty, and later in the same year Mr. Everett did likewise. The latter was not a member of the Senate when the treaty came before that body for ratification, but, like the others named, he filled at one time the office of Secretary of State.

No other treaty the United States ever made has been so much criticised and denounced, yet it afforded a peaceful solution of a situation which in 1850 was regarded as very grave—a situation which we were not prepared at that time to accept as a *casus belli.*

In providing for the neutralization of the canal, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty is in accord with the historic American position. From 1825 to 1880 the statesmen of the United States favored an interoceanic canal which should be open on equal terms to all nations and be neutralized by the joint guarantee of all. The construction of a ship canal through Central America was one of the subjects proposed for discussion at the Panama Congress of 1826. In the instructions which Mr. Clay, as Secretary of State, issued to our commissioners to that Congress, he stated that if the work should ever be executed so as to admit of the passage of sea vessels from ocean to ocean, the benefits of it ought not to be exclusively appropriated to any one nation, but should be extended to all parts of the globe upon the payment of just compensation or of reasonable tolls.

In 1835 the Senate of the United States passed a resolution requesting the President to open negotiations with other nations, with the view of protecting, by treaty stipulations, any canal that might be constructed to connect the two oceans and of insuring "the free and equal navigation of the canal by all nations." In 1839 the House of Representatives passed a like resolution. In a special message to the Senate, February 10, 1847, advocating a neutral canal, President Polk declared that the interests of the world at stake are so important that the security of this passage between the two oceans could not be suffered to depend upon the wars and revolutions which might arise among different nations. In 1849, in his annual message, President Taylor declared that the canal, if constructed under guarantees of neutrality, would become a bond of peace instead of a bond of contention and strife between the nations of the earth. He added that he had no doubt the great maritime states of Europe would consent to a proposition so fair and honorable. In the Clayton-Bulwer treaty the United States and Great Britain guaranteed the neutrality of the canal, which was to be forever "open and free."

The United States have negotiated other treaties upon the like principle. In 1846 a treaty was made with New Granada in which the United States guaranteed "the perfect neutrality" of the Isthmus of Panama in return for certain rights of transit across the isthmus granted to the persons and the property of citizens of this country. In 1867 a treaty was made with Nicaragua in which certain rights of transit between the Atlantic and the Pacific were granted to the United States and to citizens thereof, with their property. In return, the United States agreed to "protect" all such routes of communication and to guarantee "the neutrality and innocent use of the same." It was also agreed that the United States would employ their influence with other nations to induce them to guarantee "such neutrality and protection." In 1864 the United States made a treaty with Honduras, and guaranteed the neutrality of the route or road of the Honduras Interoceanic Railway Company.

In 1854, Mr. Buchanan, then minister at London, admitted that the main feature of the policy which dictated the Clayton-Bulwer convention was to prevent either Great Britain or the United States from being placed in a position to exercise *exclusive control*, *in peace or war*, over any of the grand thoroughfares between the two oceans. In 1860 Mr. Buchanan had become President of the United States, and in his annual message to Congress said: "The discordant constructions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty between the two governments, which at different periods of the discussion bore a threatening aspect, have resulted in a final settlement entirely satisfactory to this government." The discordant constructions referred to did not relate to the neutralization or fortification clauses of the treaty.

In 1857, General Cass, at that time Secretary of State, in the course of his negotiations with Lord Napier, declared in a communication dated October 20: "The United States, *as I have before had occasion to assure your Lordship, demand no exclusive privileges in these interoceanic passages, but will always exert their influence to secure their free and unrestricted benefits, both in peace and war, to the commerce of the world.*" In November of the same year General Cass stated that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was intended to establish a general principle in reference to all practicable communications across the isthmus. That principle, he declared, was that the interoceanic routes should remain under the sovereignty of the states through which they ran, and should be neutral and free to all nations alike. The policy was that, in order to prevent any government outside of those states from obtaining undue control or influence over those interoceanic transits, no such nation should erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same, etc. Like statements were made by Mr. Marcy, by Mr. Seward, and by Mr. Fish, when they filled the office of Secretary of State.

In 1880 a new policy was announced. In a special message, dated March 8, 1880, President Hayes said:

> The policy of this country is a canal under American control. The United States cannot consent to the surrender of this control to any European power, or to any combination of European powers. If existing treaties between the United States and other nations, or if the rights of sovereignty or property of other nations stand in the way of this policy—a contingency which is not apprehended—suitable steps should be taken by just and liberal negotiations to promote and establish the American policy on this subject consistently with the rights of the nations to be affected by it.

In 1881, in his inaugural address, President Garfield also pronounced for American control. The new policy, however, was more fully disclosed in the state papers of Secretary Blaine and Secretary Frelinghuysen. In June, 1881, Mr. Blaine addressed a communication to Mr. Lowell, our minister at the court of St. James, in which he called attention to the guarantee, by the United States alone, in the treaty of 1846 with New Granada, of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, and said:

> Any attempt to supersede that guarantee by an agreement between European powers, which maintain vast armies and patrol the sea with immense fleets, and whose interest in the canal and its operation can never be so vital and supreme as ours, would partake of the nature of an alliance against the United States and would be regarded by this government as an indication of unfriendly feeling.

In the same communication, Mr. Blaine declared that during any war to which the United States of America or the United States of Colombia might be a party, the passage of armed vessels of a hostile nation through the canal at Panama would be no more admissible than would be the passage of the armed forces of a hostile nation over the railway lines joining the Atlantic and Pacific shores of the United States or of Colombia, and that the United States of America would insist upon their right to take all needful precautions against the possibility of the isthmus transit being in any event used offensively against their interests upon the land or upon the sea.

In a communication dated November 19, 1881, Mr. Blaine informed Mr. Lowell that the government desired to have cancelled every part of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty which forbade the United States fortifying the canal and holding the political control of it. He also informed him that the acquisition of military and naval stations necessary to the protection of the canal, voluntarily ceded to the United States by the Central American States, was not to be regarded as a violation of the agreement to abstain from making any acquisition of territory in Central America. And the Secretary went on to say:

> If it be asked why the United States object to the assent of European governments to the terms of neutrality for the operation of the canal, my answer is that the right to assent implies the right to dissent, and thus the whole question would be thrown open for contention as an international issue. It is the fixed purpose of the United States to confine it strictly and solely as an American question, to be dealt with and decided by the American governments.

As to warships he repeated what he asserted in a previous note:

> In time of war, aside from the defensive use to be made of it by the country in which it is constructed and by the United States, the canal shall be impartially closed against the war vessels of all belligerents.

When Mr. Frelinghuysen came into office as Secretary of State, he informed Mr. Lowell, on May 8, 1882, that the President considered it unnecessary and unwise, through an invitation to the nations of the earth, to guarantee the neutrality of the transit of the isthmus. Mr. Lowell was instructed that in the opinion of the President the formation of a protectorate by European nations over the isthmus transit would be in conflict with the Monroe doctrine.

But when Mr. Cleveland came into power we find a return to the historic American doctrine. In his message of December, 1885, he declared:

> Whatever highway may be constructed across the barrier dividing the two greatest maritime areas of the world must be for the world's benefit, a trust for mankind, to be removed from the chance of domination by any single power, and must not become a point of invitation for hostilities or a prize for warlike ambition. . . The lapse of years has abundantly confirmed the wisdom and foresight of those earlier administrations which, long before the conditions of maritime intercourse were changed and enlarged by the progress of the age, proclaimed the vital need of interoceanic transit across the American isthmus, and consecrated it in advance to the common use of mankind by positive declarations and through the formal obligation of treaties.

The principle of neutrality as applied to the canal originated with the United States. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations called attention to this fact in its report of March 9, 1900, and said:

> As to neutrality and the exclusive control of the canal and its dedication to general use, the suggestions that were incorporated in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty came from the United States, and were concurred in by Great Britain. In no instance has the government of the United States intimated an objection to this treaty on account of the features of neutrality and its equal and impartial use by all other nations.

The bill introduced by Mr. Hepburn in the House on December 7, 1899, and now pending before that body, makes no provision for the neutrality of the canal. Not only is this an extraordinary departure from the policy of the United States, but the Committee, in reporting the bill favorably to the House, made an equally extraordinary declaration. The Committee announced that they desired a canal that might be used to discriminate in the matter of tolls between a foreign vessel and one "made in an American shipyard, out of American material and by American labor, and loaded with American merchandise." To the latter class of vessels the Committee would grant the use of the canal free of toll. If the United States should adopt the policy the Committee advocates, they would call forth the indignant protest of the civilized world. The arguments in favor of this discriminating policy have already been denounced as contemptible and pettifogging, and a humiliation to every American who cares for his country and wishes to respect its institutions. We do not look for its adoption by a nation that led in asserting the right to the free navigation of rivers, and that succeeded in securing the abolition of the Sound Dues which Denmark had levied for 500 years.

A neutralized canal is not only the historic policy of the United States, but it is the policy as well of Nicaragua and Costa Rica and of the nations of Europe. In 1887 Nicaragua granted the Menocal concession under which the Maritime Canal Company, incorporated by Act of Congress in 1889, carried on its operations. That concession provided for the neutrality of the canal and for the equal right of all nations to use it on payment of the tolls. In 1898 Nicaragua granted what is known as the Eyre-Cragin concession. Under this concession the canal is to be neutral; in case of war traffic is not to be interrupted; and the port at either end is to be free. Spain has a treaty with Nicaragua, made in 1850 and still in force, in which it is agreed that any canal that is built shall be neutral. Belgium made a similar agreement with Nicaragua in 1858; France, in 1859, and Great Britain, in 1860.

It has been objected that the treaty "revives" the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. In reporting to the House of Representatives the Hepburn canal bill, February 17, 1900, and in speaking of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce declared that Great Britain "still uses this ghost of a dead treaty to frighten the people of the United States from securing the great advantages certain to flow to us from the successful completion of this great undertaking." In view of the fact that we have never convinced either Great Britain or ourselves that the treaty is dead, the Committee's statement is, to say the least, surprising. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty has never ceased to be obligatory upon the United States from the time it was entered into, and all talk about its being "revived" is based upon utter ignorance of the facts. Neither the President, nor the Congress, nor any Secretary of State has ever asserted that it was either void or abrogated. A Senate Committee at one time reported in favor of abrogating it, but this course was not adopted.

As Secretary of State, in an official communication dated February 16, 1877, Mr. Fish acknowledged the treaty to be "still subsisting." In 1881 Mr. Blaine recognized it to be in force when he expressed the hope that Great Britain would "concede certain modifications," the rest of the treaty "to remain in full force." Mr. Frelinghuysen only expressed an opinion that the treaty was "voidable," and this opinion was predicated solely upon a hypothesis and not upon a positive assumption of fact. Mr. Frelinghuysen is the only Secretary of State who has intimated that the treaty was voidable, and his argument has not commended itself to any of his successors in the office. Mr. Olney, when Secretary of State, referred to the treaty as a subsisting engagement; Mr. Day is quoted as entertaining the same opinion, and it is well known that Mr. Hay shares that belief. In their report submitted to the Senate on March 9, 1900, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations said:

> But before 1860 every American President and diplomatist who had discussed the subject adhered to the declaration that the treaty had not been abrogated and was in full force as to all its provisions. . . Since 1860 the Clayton-Bulwer treaty has been in some way recognized by the government in each of the succeeding administrations as a subsisting compact. . . This treaty is, therefore, open and existing as a binding and unexecuted compact, with the express approval of the United States as to the question of our control over the canal and our right to build and fortify it. It is executed and therefore unrepealable as to all other questions and matters covered by its provisions.

Not only is the Clayton-Bulwer treaty in force, but most of our publicists understand very well that it would be most unwise for the United States to set it aside, even though it should be conceded, which it is not, that there are legal grounds which would justify such action. The treaty imposes most important restrictions upon Great Britain, and these restrictions should not be removed. That power, like the United States, has coasts and seaports on both oceans, and may sometime desire a canal across Nicaragua under her exclusive control. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty prohibits her from constructing it, and does not allow her to acquire even a coaling or a naval station anywhere in Central America. The treaty, so far as it restrains the power of Great Britain, is a treaty to be enforced. So far as it unwisely restricts the power of the United States it is a treaty to be modified. Under no circumstances is it a treaty to be given up if satisfactory modifications can be secured. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty without amendment secures such modifications as the interests of the United States require. It is to the credit of the Secretary of State that the new treaty leaves the old one in force, the defects of the old being remedied by the provisions in the new.

It has been objected that the treaty is subversive of the Monroe doctrine. This is a repetition of the objection advanced by Mr. Frelinghuysen against the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. The objection is certainly not well taken. The Monroe doctrine prohibits European interference intended to alter by force the constitution or form of government in an American state. It also prohibits any future European colonization of the American continent. As understood by President Polk and President Cleveland, the doctrine also precludes the acquisition of additional territory on the American continent by any European state. This is all there is to the Monroe doctrine, and in not a single particular does this treaty conflict with it. On the contrary, it is in full accord with it. The neutralization of the canal is an agreement to keep hands off, and that is exactly what the European states are required by the Monroe doctrine to do.

It is conceded that no American Secretary of State ever went farther than Mr. Olney in applying the Monroe doctrine. But it never occurred even to him to claim that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty violated that doctrine. On the contrary, he claimed that the treaty was a fulfilment of that doctrine when he declared:

> We are also indebted to it [the Monroe doctrine] for the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which both neutralized any interoceanic canal across Central America and expressly excluded Great Britain from occupying or exercising any dominion over any part of Central America.

The opponents of the treaty seek its discredit by claiming that the agreement creates a European "protectorate" over American territory, which they would have us understand constitutes a violation of the Monroe doctrine. The charge might have been made with more reason against the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, for that did make it the duty of Great Britain along with the United States to "protect" certain interests. But when the charge is made against the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, it is without even a shadow of justification, and, when made against the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, it has never produced a very profound impression upon the country.

The supremacy of the United States on the American continent, about which Richard Olney expressed himself in plain language in his correspondence with Lord Salisbury in the Venezuelan controversy, is not surrendered or imperilled by an agreement not to fortify a canal that is to be neutralized, and which is not even in our own territory. If the treaty should be ratified, the United States, to use Mr. Olney's language, will still be as "practically sovereign" throughout America as before, and "its fiat" will still be law. The objection has also been made that the treaty provides for European control of distinctly American affairs. But, as a matter of fact, the only control the treaty provides for is control by the United States.

Those who object to a control based upon the consent of England argue that the right to assent assumes a right to dissent, and they deny the right of England, or any European power, to interpose an objection to the construction of the canal by the United States. It is certain that England has a right to object to the assumption by the United States of the sole control of the canal, its right to object being derived from the Clayton-Bulwer agreement, under which the United States and England covenanted for a joint control. Whether the United States will recognize any other European state as having a "right" to object may be a question. But it is well enough to remember the treaties which Nicaragua has already made with certain of these nations, before referred to, which expressly guarantee the neutrality of any such canal.

It has been objected that the United States should have the right to fortify any canal that it builds. That the United States should have a fortified canal was the proposal of Mr. Blaine. It is necessary, however, to understand that the agreement not to fortify is based upon the agreement not to attack. What reason is there for fortifying what cannot be attacked? The Treaty of Berlin in 1878, in order to increase the guarantees which assured the freedom of navigation on the Danube, which it recognized as of European interest, provided that all the fortresses and fortifications existing on the course of the river from the Iron Gates to its mouths should be razed, and no new ones should be erected. When Belgium was neutralized, it was agreed by a convention signed at London, in 1831, that the fortifications named therein should be totally disarmed and demolished. And when the London conference of 1867 placed the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg under the guarantee of the Powers as a permanently neutralized territory, it was a part of the agreement that the fortifications were to be demolished. The convention of 1888, which imposed a neutral character upon the Suez Canal, prohibited its fortification. Other like instances may be cited, as in the case of the Free Town of Cracow, neutralized by the treaty of Vienna, and of the Black Sea, neutralized by the treaty of Paris.

It is well to remember, in this connection, that the agreement not to fortify does not involve the surrender of a right which the United States now possesses. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty says: "No fortifications shall be erected commanding the canal or the waters adjacent." But in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty the contracting parties had agreed that neither would ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same (the canal) or in the vicinity thereof. The question of whether we shall or shall not fortify is, therefore, not an open question. We have already agreed that we shall not fortify, and from that obligation we have never been released.

Senator Davis, the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, is quoted as saying that the cost of fortifications for the canal would be enormous. He declares that anywhere from $50,000,000 to $80,000,000 would be required for the purpose. What reason is there for supposing that the United States, which have so long utterly neglected to fortify their own coasts, would ever complete, at so great an expenditure, the fortifications of a canal so far removed from their immediate frontier? However that may be, the United States ought not to assume so great a burden of expense when the assumption of it would leave the canal less secure than it would have been if reliance had been placed in the guarantee of the nations.

The naval experts who have spoken on the subject have expressed the opinion that it is not practicable by land fortifications to defend the canal successfully against modern guns and armored battleships. But if land defences can be constructed which would prevent the seizure of the canal, its safety would not thereby be absolutely secured. A single shot landed within the canal works from an enemy's ship, or a charge of dynamite properly placed by one of his secret agents, might destroy the canal or render it useless for the time being. It is not to be a smoothly flowing waterway, but one interrupted by ten immense locks. These locks are to be so closely associated, and so dependent mutually, that the naval experts say the work of destruction could be made complete by the exercise of the simplest and most easily directed agencies. These experts tell us that the detonating energy of a single stick of dynamite could injure the mechanisms beyond repair and paralyze all traffic for months to come. They warn us that no watchfulness could guard against a resort to these agencies, and that no precautions could insure immunity from disaster. They inform us that shore emplacements can be of no war value in the protection of the canal, and that its defence must be essentially naval in character. They instruct us that the logical and only real defence of the canal is based upon principles of strategy that are immutable, and that the controlling element depends upon the command of the sea. They advise us that the key to the situation is to be found in the control of the Caribbean Sea. Admiral Dewey has not hesitated to say that he is opposed to fortifying the canal. "To fortify," he has said, "will simply result in making it a battle-ground in case of war"; and he added: "Fortifications will be enormously expensive and ought not to be erected."

It has been objected that, under the treaty as proposed by the Secretary of State, the canal would be a menace to the United States; that it would provide an expeditious way for an enemy to attack the Pacific coast, as it is to be open, in time of war as in time of peace, to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations, on terms of entire equality. Those who advance this objection need to be reminded of the fact that there are but two conditions under which it is possible for the nations of the world to agree on the neutralization of the canal—the warships of all belligerents may be excluded from the canal, or else all may be allowed to pass through the canal without discrimination.

Those who have studied the subject carefully have come to the conclusion that the wiser policy is to regard an interoceanic canal as always open to the ships of the world on terms of perfect equality. That was the policy which the nations adopted as to the Suez Canal. It is the policy which the Hay-Pauncefote treaty proposes for the Nicaragua waterway. Reflection will convince most persons that it is wiser to allow the ships of all nations to enter the canal upon an equality—and thus secure its neutralization—than to deny them that privilege, thereby endangering the safety of the canal while involving the United States in the enormous expense contingent on the fortification and defence of the waterway, to say nothing of the political complications that would ensue.

It is highly creditable to the press of the country that the leading papers have discussed the treaty on its merits, and have approved or disapproved it without reference to partisan considerations. Such papers as the "Evening Post" and the "World," of New York, although not in sympathy with the Administration, have commended the treaty and called for its ratification, while the "Times-Herald" and the "Evening Post," of Chicago, and the "Sun," of New York, notwithstanding their ardent devotion to the President, have not hesitated to denounce the treaty in most unsparing terms. The New York "Evening Post" declared that what Secretary Hay had done was so plainly in the interests not only of this country but of all the world, was so undeniably in the line of progress and humanity, that the friends of civilization and peace should see to it that his statesmanlike achievement be not crippled or defeated.

On the other hand, the Chicago "Times-Herald" said that the treaty was born dying if not dead, and declared that the United States had fallen back twenty years in the negotiations. It added: "The people will not accept the recession. Neither will the House of Representatives, which can block the passage of a Nicaragua bill if it may not act directly on the new convention. Neither, we believe, will the Senate, before whom that convention must come for ratification." The Chicago "Evening Post" said: "There is not a single practical argument for a neutral canal." It announced that if the American people had to choose between a neutral canal and no canal at all, the overwhelming majority would prefer no canal at all. The New York "Sun" was equally severe in its criticism. It declared that the people of the United States would not tolerate the spectacle of our enemy's ships being escorted safely through the canal and then sent out to prey upon our commerce or seaports, while our men-of-war following them through the canal were held the allotted twenty-four hours before being permitted to put to sea. The "Post," of Washington, an Administration paper, repudiated the treaty and called for its rejection by the Senate. "For our part," it declared, "we shall regard the ratification of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as a more perilous blunder than that of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of fifty years ago."

It is worthy of note that almost without exception the leading papers of New York supported the treaty. The "Journal," as was to be expected from its well-known hostility to the President, opposed it. The opposition of the "Sun" was not surprising, for it is a pronounced advocate of a strong foreign policy, and believes in carrying things with a high hand. It is somewhat remarkable that the papers of Chicago should have been as pronounced in opposition to the treaty as those in New York were in its favor. The Chicago "Journal" stood alone in that city in its advocacy. The Chicago "Tribune," a paper devoted for years to the interests of the Republican party, declared the treaty was one which never should have been laid before the American Senate and asserted that Secretary Hay had spent so much of his time abroad that he was out of touch with the American people, adding, "*If the duty of framing the pending treaty had been assigned* to Lord Pauncefote alone the result could not have been more in harmony with British interests." The "Inter Ocean," the most intensely Republican paper in Chicago, called the treaty "mere diplomatic patchwork."

When a paper like the Atlanta "Constitution" calls the treaty a "criminal blunder of international negotiation," its attitude may, unjustly, I think, be attributed to partisan considerations. The same may be said, and with equal injustice, of the attitude of the New York "Tribune," which declared that the majority of the people of the United States would hail the ratification of the treaty with joy. But it is very certain that only a strong sense of public duty led the New York "Evening Post" to advocate the treaty, and the Chicago "Times-Herald" and "Tribune" to oppose it, contrary to their party predilections in each case. A high sense of public duty has also led Mr. Cleveland to break the silence on public matters he has generally maintained since his retirement to private life, and to advocate the ratification of the treaty. HENRY WADE ROGERS.

JOURNALISM IN JAPAN.

JOURNALISM, like a great many other new institutions which are now fairly well established in Japan, came to us from the West. As its seed was planted in a rich soil, its growth has been rapid, and its ramifications are now firmly established in the national life.

To show the nature of the soil in which the seed of the modern newspaper was planted, some explanation of the conditions which prevailed in Japan under the old *régime* must be given. Formerly the country was divided into about 360 *hans*, or territories, under feudal lords; and although they appeared to be closely united under the Emperor, as the supreme head of the state, and under the Shogun, as the military and administrative chief, these *hans*, excepting those brought into relationship through marriage or the adoption of heirs, were practically secluded one from the other, just as Japan as a whole was isolated from the rest of the world.

In those days, education was almost wholly confined to the ranks of the *samurai*, or feudal vassals. As a general rule these had their homes in the strongholds of their lords. Consequently, so far as matters of interest in any particular *hans* were concerned, there was no need of the printing-press as a means of circulating news; while, as regarded events in other territories, it was hard to obtain information, each *han* having been jealous and suspicious of its neighbors, guarding its own affairs with the utmost secrecy. Practically, international relations did not exist, and so there was no incentive or necessity for keeping well informed as to the affairs of the outside world. As for the peasants and the common people, they lived happily and contentedly under the generally benign rule of their feudal lords, not caring the least for what was passing beyond their own immediate environment.

Under these conditions the naturally inquisitive disposition of our people remained for a long time dormant. A gradual awakening began, however, in the second quarter of the present century, when men like Shihei Hayashi, Noboru Watanabe, Choyei Takano, and others conversant with Dutch—the only European language in which Japanese scholars of that day were proficient—eagerly collected all available information respecting the course of events abroad, and printed and circulated it with their own comments. On the other hand, the high functionaries of the Baku-fu, as the Shogun's government was termed, accustomed to ease and luxury, and loath to have their gross ignorance of domestic and foreign affairs unveiled, did their utmost to suppress these energetic and patriotic *samurai*, arresting, imprisoning, exiling, and, in some instances, executing them.

Watanabe, an enlightened and talented writer, was the man marked earliest for such persecution. In order not to compromise his feudal lord, who would otherwise have been held responsible, he finally committed suicide, which was an honorable form of executing the death sentence permitted only to knights. Takano, a physician and an accomplished Dutch scholar, was twice arrested and imprisoned, and, in order to escape the ignominy of a felon's death, also committed suicide. But the most enterprising and daring of this little band of reformers was Shihei Hayashi. Having learned on one occasion that Russian explorers were molesting the aborigines of Yezo, he went to that island and gave effective assistance against the trespassers. When he returned to his native province he published and secretly circulated several pamphlets on national defence and other timely topics, in which he condemned the ignorance and incompetency of the Baku-fu officials. This brought him under the official ban, and finally, like his fellow reformers Watanabe and Takano, he was forced to commit suicide.

Considering the difficulties with which these men had to contend, their limited knowledge of foreign languages, the paucity of foreign books and of other publications, and, above all, the strict espionage of the authorities, we cannot fail to admire their energy, fortitude, and patriotism. They were pioneers in the efforts to form an enlightened public opinion; and although their courage and devotion would doubtless have made them run any risks to obtain a quicker and more regular method of diffusing useful news, the time was not ripe, and all they could do was to circulate pamphlets at irregular and considerable intervals.

However, there was one feature of Japanese life under the feudal *régime* which was favorable to the establishment and growth of journalism. Under the rule of the territorial lords, freedom of speech was by no means tyrannically suppressed. As a general rule, these nobles were carefully educated from early youth in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. They were surrounded also by advisers—elders of the house, as they were called—selected from among the ablest and most experienced of their vassals, whose duty it was to advise their masters upon all matters of importance. The system was one calculated to impress upon the nobleman a realization of the responsibilities of his position and a due respect for the opinions of others. The study of the political doctrines inculcated by Confucius and Mencius did much to make him liberal and tolerant; for, although China was in their day, as it is now, an absolute monarchy, the political philosophy of the sages named was not by any means moulded in the same cast. On the contrary, their sayings are full of a genuinely democratic spirit. Mencius goes so far as to declare that a dynasty could, and should, continue so long only as its line of action was acceptable to the will of heaven—that is, to the people. He said that such wise Emperors as Yao and Shun did not disdain the suggestions of peasants.

Now it is a curious fact that while in China the sayings of these ancient philosophers have been studied merely as models of literary style, the tendency in Japan has been toward the practical application of their teachings. Small wonder, therefore, that education based upon such broad and liberal doctrines should have caused Japanese feudal lords not only to concede to their elders and counsellors the right freely to express their views, but to encourage the same freedom among vassals generally. Thus in the *samurai* were fostered a habit of frankness in the enunciation of his views and a feeling of responsibility for the welfare of his master and of his fellows. In the broader field of national affairs, education, training, and usage impressed upon him the duty of redressing the wrongs of the people and of correcting abuses of power; and when journalism was introduced he found in the new vocation a natural and an effective instrument of reform. This explains why, at the inception of journalistic enterprise in Japan, the leaders were mostly of the *samurai* class, and why the profession itself was regarded as a most honorable one.

Later on, when a great many *koshimbun*, or small newspapers, sprang up, which catered to the unsavory tastes of the lower classes, there was a tendency to disparage journalism. Nevertheless, the post of managing editor or editorial writer on a high-class daily is fully appreciated, and among the younger members of the profession there are a number of graduates of the Imperial University, and of other colleges of repute. Many officers of the Government, also, have been, or are still, connected with journalism, including cabinet ministers, vice-ministers, members of parliament, governors of prefectures, and others of corresponding or lesser rank. The ranks of other professions have also been drawn upon for prominent names, as witness the case of Mr. Yukichi Fukuzawa, a noted pioneer in the introduction of Western education into Japan, who is the proprietor of the Tokio "Jiji Shimpo"; of Mr. Jiuko Sugiura, another distinguished educationalist; and of Dr. Ukichi Taguchi, an economist of the free-trade school.

According to the latest statistics, there are now published in Japan 745 periodicals, of which Tokio has 201, Osaka 56, and Kioto 51. The report from which these figures are taken does not give the number of daily newspapers, but I estimate that it is about 150. Tokio alone has twenty. And yet, a little more than twenty years ago there was not, throughout the whole of Japan, a single regular publication to which the name newspaper could justly have been applied.

The earliest attempt in Japan to publish anything in the nature of a periodical was made in 1863, by a publisher known as Man-hio, at Yedo, now Tokio. The publication was in pamphlet form, and consisted mostly of translations of items of news from Dutch newspapers published at Batavia, the chief port of the Dutch East Indies. From this circumstance the periodical was known as "The Batavia News." Man-hio was publisher to the Government office known as "Bansho-chosio"—literally, "Bureau for Investigating Barbarians' Books"—an institution which was the nucleus of the Imperial University. At the suggestion, and with the assistance, of the professors of this Bureau, Man-hio undertook the publication of the "News"; but the enterprise was not long-lived. Following this, many periodicals cropped up, published at irregular intervals as occasion required. Among my collection of these early so-called newspapers I have specimens of the "Yenkin Shimbun" ("News of the Metropolis and Provinces"); the "Bankoku Shimbun" ("News of All Nations"), published as the organ of the English missionaries; the "Moshio-gusa" ("Collection of Sea Weeds"), edited jointly by Mr. Ginko Kishida and an American, the first genuine newspaper published in Japan; the "Chiugai Shimbun" ("Home and Foreign News"), edited by Mr. Kishida alone; and the "Koko Shimbun" ("News of Society"), edited by that talented journalist and politician Genichiro Fukuchi. Other periodicals of those early days were the "Tokio Shimbun" ("Tokio Newspaper"), the "Nichi Nichi Shimbun" ("Daily News"), the "Shimbun Zassi" ("Collection of News"), and the "Nissin Shinjishi" ("Journal of Daily Events"), which last was published in Japanese by an Englishman.

All of these publications were brochures of a dozen or more leaves, printed from wooden blocks, with rude sketches by way of illustrations. In glancing through their pages we discover that the primary object of the publishers was to supply their limited circle of subscribers with such useful information of foreign affairs as they could obtain, and especially to show how Western nations had attained to civilization and power. Little mention was made of domestic news, save by occasional brief references to the most important events. The number of regular subscribers to these publications was naturally limited, although various ingenious devices were employed to increase their circulation. One method was the employment of hawkers, who, as they went from place to place, read aloud the contents of the paper ; another was the use of catchy signs in the many picture shops of Tokio. But, notwithstanding these and other novel advertising schemes, none of these pioneer ventures in journalism ever attained any great success, and the longest-lived among them did not last for more than two years.

The first successful daily newspaper established in Japan was the "Mainichi Shimbun" ("Daily News"), issued first at Yokohama in 1871, and afterward published in Tokio. This paper was printed originally from wooden blocks. A year or two later, when a type-foundry had been established at Tokio, movable metal type and wooden blocks were used indiscriminately, but from about 1873 or 1874 the former only has been employed. Mr. Saburo Shimada, at one time Vice-President of the House of Representatives, and still an influential member of that body, a journalist of wide attainments, universally respected both in his public and private capacities, is the chief proprietor and editorial writer.

The Tokio "Nichi Nichi Shimbun" ("Daily News") was established in 1872, and holds high rank among the Japanese journals of the day. It is owned by Baron Miyoji Ito, ex-Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and through its columns Baron Suyematsu, ex-Minister of Communications, first attained distinction. That veteran journalist, Mr. Genichiro Fukuchi, was for a long time identified with it; and at present Mr. Chisen Asahina, who has travelled extensively and has marked ability, is its chief editorial writer. This paper exerts great influence among the official class.

The "Hochi Shimbun" is the next in chronological order, having been first published at Tokio under the rather inelegant name of "Yubin Hochi Shimbun" ("Carrier of News by Post"). On its editorial staff are such noted politicians as Mr. Yukio Ozaki, ex-Minister of Education, and now leader of the Progressionists in the House of Representatives, and Mr. Katsundo Minoura, ex-Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. The "Jiji Shimpo" ("The Times") is another influential Tokio daily. The proprietor is Mr. Fukuzawa, the renowned educationalist already mentioned, and the paper has a large circulation in business circles, where many of his former pupils hold leading positions. The "Nippon" ("Japan") is a comparatively young newspaper, but exerts a great deal of influence among those who call themselves enlightened Conservatives, whose guiding principle is the conservation of nationalism among the students. The editorial staff is composed principally of young men, well educated, undoubtedly, but not all of ripe experience; consequently, the editorials, though, as a rule, brilliantly and powerfully written, have the fault of being too academic. The Tokio "Kokumin Shimbun" ("The Nation") had formerly a very large circulation, and, besides its daily issue, at one time published two monthly magazines, the "Kokumin-no-Tomo" ("Friend of the People") and the "Far East" (in English); but of late the circulation of the paper has fallen off, and the magazines have been discontinued.

The foregoing newspapers, with the addition of the "Japan Daily Times," edited entirely in English by a Japanese staff, may be called the O-Shimbun, or large papers, which command more or less political influence and still maintain the journalistic spirit and traditions of earlier days. Other political papers published in Tokio are the "Yomiuri Shimbun," which literally means "Selling by Reading," an old method of circulating news in our country; the "Chiuo Shimbun" ("Central News"); and the "Jimmin" ("The People"), the organ of the liberals. As yet, however, these papers do not appear to have attained any great amount of influence, all but the first named being of recent origin. The "Yorodzu Choho" ("Morning Items") and the "Asahi Shimbun" ("The Rising Sun"), both of which have a large circulation, are not generally ranked among the high-class journals.

Although at present each Japanese city and town of any importance has one or more daily newspapers, outside of the metropolis there are only two which command any very considerable influence. These are the "Mainichi Shimbun," the chief editor of which is Mr. Takashi Hara, a talented writer who was Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs during the Chino-Japanese War, and the "Asahi Shimbun."

Both are published in Osaka, and have a very large circulation, particularly in the western half of the Empire.

To summarize the journalistic situation in Japan, it may be said that at the outset, when news was circulated only in pamphlet form, the primary object of the publishers seems to have been to propagate useful knowledge respecting the affairs of the Western world. Subsequently, when daily newspapers were established, the educated *samurai* not only enlightened their readers on foreign matters, but promulgated their opinions upon political, social, and economic questions. For this they were, as already explained, well fitted both by training and by inclination. I do not mean to say that they were able to discuss intelligently all the abstract problems of science, religion, or metaphysics, but their culture and mental equipment at that time sufficed for the requirements of their profession. The ideal of the journalism of that time being the moulding of national politics, the institution of social reforms, and the instruction of the people, the editorial writer naturally held absolute sway in the newspaper office. Consequently, the position of managing editor or of a writer of miscellaneous items was regarded with scant favor by ambitious journalistic aspirants. This tradition, and the customs to which it gave rise, still survive among the so-called "large" newspapers, whose editorial staffs are composed of the ablest talent to be found in the journalistic world.

But the latest tendency, particularly among the minor newspapers, is to give greater influence to the managing editor, who, in former days, as the head of the business department, held quite a subordinate position. The editorial writers are being reduced to the same rank as the writers in other departments. In fact, on some papers, they are no longer allowed to express their views freely and independently, but are completely subordinate to the managing editor, whose sole object is to sell his paper, principle and tone having no weight with him. This tendency is due to the strong competition among the newspapers of the metropolis, where, notwithstanding the hunger for news, twenty dailies are more than enough to satisfy the cravings of all possible subscribers. In this mercenary struggle the minor papers, with their scant sense of dignity and honor, naturally come out best; but, under the circumstances, it is a matter for sincere congratulation that the larger political dailies still maintain the high tone and spirit of former days. T. J. NAKAGAWA.

SOME RECENT PLAYS AND PLAYERS.

THE season of dramatic entertainment which has just ended ranged between extremes—from "Sapho" to the "Elder Miss Blossom." The fact that the public showed extraordinary interest in "Sapho," and that from the box-office point of view it might have been the most successful play of the season, had the performances not been stopped by the police, may be the cause of considerable reflection to the moralists who occasionally write upon the decadence of the drama. The deductions of these moralists are usually extremely interesting, but, I fear, quite erroneous.

There is no decadence in the drama. Public taste has not changed a whit. The whole philosophy of success or failure in a play can be summed up in the simple dictum that the public likes any play which is well written, well constructed, and well acted—any play which is a good example of its type. The public never has countenanced, nor would it to-day tolerate, a play which is immoral, simply because it is so. To be stamped by the public approval a play must have in it something which strikes a note of human experience, something to redeem the equivocal question with which it deals. A play based on such a question is never received by the public for what there is wrong in it, but because of its human strength; nor has there ever been—in this country, at least—a successful play of the type of "Camille," "Zaza," or "Sapho" in which the certainty of retribution for wrongdoing was not shown and enforced.

The success of plays like "Sapho" will be found to lie in the fact that they give a strong presentation to certain phases of human life. But here comes in a larger question. Should certain phases of human experience be shown on the stage at all? The answer to that question is really an individual one. Obviously there is a large class of people who would find a strong moral lesson in "Sapho." The novel on which the play is based was written by Daudet for his son to read on coming of age. The author desired his boy to learn, through this book, the consequences of an immoral life, in order that he might avoid it; and there is no doubt that, with a growing knowledge of life, we become more competent to escape its moral pitfalls. This fact is frankly recognized in foreign countries, but in this country we still shut our eyes to it. Ignorance of vice, however, is not virtue; the latter consists in resisting what we *know* is wrong. Nevertheless there should be a limit to the presentation of some sides of life on the stage. In regard to certain experiences, reticence is not hypocrisy.

It is true, as I have said, that no play of this kind has succeeded simply because it deals with a certain topic; the necessary element of retribution is always present. Moreover, to attain success, plays of this kind must have artistic qualities and must make a strong appeal to human nature; otherwise they leave no lasting impression. There must be something in them which leaves a lingering sense of pity for the leading character. Certainly, in the plays which I have named there is nothing to encourage any spectator to follow in the footsteps of the heroines. To die of consumption, to give up the man you love, to see your idol shattered after a series of heart-breaking, soul-wearing contentions—none of these finalities offers an alluring prospect. Nevertheless, so end the careers of Camille, Zaza, and Sapho.

As the public this season was more concerned with the last named, I may say that, in my opinion, the impression it made was highly repellent. There was so much quarrelling, so much heart-suffering, so much that was absolutely painful in it, that it should have had an absolutely deterrent effect upon any one about to take an immoral step.

As regards Miss Olga Nethersole's production of the play, it was on the same high, artistic plan which she has shown in former seasons. She is a woman of artistic sensitiveness, and her own acting was a combination of the graceful and the pathetic. Being her own manager and her own stage-producer, she deserves full credit for the manner in which the play was presented. Better stage-management than that shown in the handling of the large crowd in the ball-room scene in the first act, which is a constant succession of lively incidents, cannot be imagined, and the mounting of the play throughout was admirable.

"Sapho" having been so much in evidence this season, the following anecdote concerning it may be of interest. A certain publishing firm in this city, which had made a specialty of religious books, decided some years ago to branch out into a more general literary business. Considering the novels of Daudet, so far as they had appeared, suitable for their purpose, they contracted with him for the American rights to a manuscript on which he was then engaged.

The manuscript came over: it was "Sapho." Imagine the feelings of these publishers when they discovered, on reading the manuscript, the class of book they had contracted for as a first departure from their religious publications. They immediately cabled to Daudet: "'Sapho' will not do."

It seems that Daudet's friends considered that a high honor had been conferred upon him by the purchase of his manuscript by an American publishing house. To celebrate the event they tendered him a banquet. It was in the midst of this banquet that the cablegram, "'Sapho' will not do," was received. The distinguished author puzzled over it a moment, then passed it around. The guests read and pondered it. Finally, they concluded that it referred to the difference in the spelling of the name in the two languages. Accordingly they despatched the following cablegram to the American publishing house: "All right, spell it 'Sappho.'"

This play is only one of many recent instances of the successful dramatization of novels. To show how the position of the novelist toward the stage has changed, it is only necessary to call attention to the fact that Maude Adams, with "The Little Minister," still draws crowded houses wherever she plays, and that among the distinguished successes of the season have been Mrs. Fiske's "Becky Sharp," William Gillette's "Sherlock Holmes," "Ben Hur," "The Only Way" (a dramatization of "A Tale of Two Cities"), and James K. Hackett in "The Pride of Jennico." Formerly a manager used to look with pity upon a playwright who came into his office with a dramatization of a novel in his pocket. The novelist who demanded for himself a place on the stage was an individual still undiscovered. But now a magic change has come over the relation between manager and novelist. One of the first dramatizations of a book to bring about this change was "The Prisoner of Zenda." Its success was very great, not only with the usual theatre-going public, but with a class of people entirely outside.

A hint to the wise is sufficient, and no people are quicker to perceive the trend of popular taste than theatrical managers. They found out that the dramatization of a book attracted to the theatre those who had read and enjoyed it, whether they were regular theatre-goers or not, and thus added immensely to the theatrical *clientèle*. The movement well started, a great impetus was given to it by Charles Frohman's production of "The Little Minister," with Maude Adams as Lady Babbie. For three seasons this play has now run practically to "standing room only," and has made a fortune for manager, author, and actress. Mr. Barrie himself dramatized the book, and it is said that when the play is given in New York and other large cities his royalties average $1,000 a week. Yet it was Barrie who said to Mr. Frohman, just after the novel had been published, "One thing I am sure of, there is no play in it." A playwright with whom the manager consulted agreed with the author that no successful play could be made out of it. Some months later, Mr. Barrie came over here to attend an International Copyright meeting. A few days after his arrival he saw John Drew and Maude Adams in "Rosemary." After the performance he dashed into the manager's office, exclaiming, "I have just seen my Lady Babbie on your stage, and I will write the play for her."

William Gillette's "Sherlock Holmes" is a model piece of construction, and, as played by him at the Garrick Theatre, was so successful that at any performance it would have required a Sherlock Holmes to discover a vacant seat. The merit in the dramatization lies in the fact that Mr. Gillette, who made it, has put all the mystery of a book of 340 pages into a play of two hours and a half, and has preserved all the characteristics of a collection of thirty stories, without using one of these. He has simply taken the main character of the book, and has preserved his traits so well that, although the scenes of the play are entirely original, the audience feels the book through it all. "Ben Hur," as dramatized by William Young, and "The Pride of Jennico," by Mrs. Abbey Sage Richardson and Miss Grace Furniss, are excellent specimens of stage-craft; and Mrs. Fiske's production of "Becky Sharp," by Langdon Mitchell, a son of Dr. Weir Mitchell, was one of the most serious and artistic productions of the season. As in her famous performance of "Tess," Mrs. Fiske is physically wholly unsuited to the *rôle* of "Becky." It is the brilliant mental force of the actress which breaks through all physical limitations and places her stage creations of these two characters among the most significant pieces of acting to-day. Henry Miller's Sydney Carton, in "The Only Way," offered him some of the best opportunities in his career, and he made ample use of them.

The dramatization of books is the latest stage phenomenon, and it has assumed such importance that the writer of a novel now seems to have the manager in view while he is writing for the publisher. The writer of a book may not become his own dramatizer, but the dramatization, even if by other hands, is profitable to him. With the dramatic writer the problem is to find his subject. The book gives it, and the theatrical manager is willing to compensate the writer in liberal fashion. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that, during the past year, the American writers of books have been among the best writers of plays. The theatrical manager now takes the same chair as the editor, and accepts fiction for the stage, as the latter does for his magazine. With the first symptoms of success of "To Have and to Hold," the author of that novel received for the dramatic rights offers enough by wire and letter to fill a large scrap-book.

It is a great satisfaction to know that the successful dramatization of books has not interfered with the success of original plays. In "Robespierre" Henry Irving and Miss Terry played two highly lucrative engagements at the Knickerbocker Theatre. A notable play of the season was Clyde Fitch's "Barbara Frietchie," in which the title *rôle* was charmingly acted by Julia Marlowe. At Daly's Theatre, Daniel Frohman maintained the traditions of that famous house with a series of original plays, brilliantly acted and superbly mounted. Two delicious comedies, "Miss Hobbs," by Jerome K. Jerome, delicately acted by Annie Russell, and "My Daughter-in-law," with Ellaline Terris and Fanny Brough, were cleverly given at the Lyceum. "The Tyranny of Tears" attracted John Drew's usual large following; and the Kendals' production of "The Elder Miss Blossom" was a triumph of purity and sweetness in theatrical art. There was no falling off in the public's interest in Richard Mansfield's "Cyrano," and in the other *rôles* from his repertoire. Stuart Robson made a neat hit in "Oliver Goldsmith," one of the delightful comedies of the year; while Esmond's "When We were Twenty-one" charmed the audiences of the Goodwins.

One of the best plays of comedy and sentiment seen here in many a day was produced at the Empire Theatre—"Brother Officers," by Leo Trevor. William Faversham played the hero, Lieutenant Hinds; and by her sweet and sympathetic portrayal of the heroine, Lady Roydon, Margaret Anglin added considerably to her growing reputation. Jessie Milward is the regular leading lady of the Empire Stock Company; and the substitution of Miss Anglin in "Brother Officers" shows how careful the manager must be to consider the casting of a play from every possible point of view. Why was Miss Anglin substituted for Miss Milward? Empire Theatre audiences have always seen Miss Milward and Mr. Faversham in plays which found them united before the final curtain. In "Brother Officers," Lady Roydon does not love Hinds. Indeed, the leading motive of the play is his self-sacrifice for the man she loves. The management argued that the sympathy of the audience would go out to Hinds, and that it would feel a certain sense of disappointment at his not getting the woman he cared for. There is one thing an audience cannot stand—keen disappointment; and as Empire audiences had always been accustomed to see Faversham, as the hero, win the love of Miss Milward, as the heroine, the management feared that if Hinds failed to win both Lady Roydon and Miss Milward, the play would also fail with the audience. Therefore it went outside of the company and engaged Miss Anglin, with whom Mr. Faversham had never acted before. This seems like stretching a point; but the playgoing public is extremely sensitive.

I have already mentioned "The Pride of Jennico," in which Mr. Hackett appeared. It is a melodrama of an extreme, romantic type, and clearly belongs to the Anthony Hope style. It is remarkable what a strong hold melodrama has on popular fancy. The fact is that final judgment upon a play is rendered, neither by the manager who accepts it, nor the actors who interpret it, but by the eyes and ears that see and hear it. Those eyes and ears dearly love a lover and the persecuted man or woman of melodrama. "Give me the old story, a good limelight, and a good orchestra to play shivery music, and I will defy all the literary people in the world," is a familiar managerial expression. But to a successful melodrama there is more than the old story, shivery music, and a good limelight. Really the heart interest in plays of this kind is very strong, and the types, though exaggerated, are not more so than in the novels of Dickens. I think that a good melodrama like "Hearts are Trumps," which presents the life of to-day very much as Dickens did the life of his day, is quite worthy to be ranked with the works of that novelist. The play has been one of the great successes of the season.

Have you ever stopped to think why romantic plays such as the two last mentioned are followed by an audience with such breathless interest? The reason is, I believe, that in a well-constructed play, and in a melodrama even more than in any other, the playwright takes the audience into his confidence. Nothing is more fatal to a play's success than to make an audience believe that the story is going to develop in a certain way, and then surprise the audience by twisting it in an entirely different direction. An audience should never be surprised. The greatest skill in a playwright is to allow his audience to anticipate events of which the characters in the play itself are apparently still in ignorance. The play in which the audience is constantly saying to itself, "You poor little fool, can't you see he is duping you?" has in it the element of a great success. The greatest delight of an audience is to know in the third act something which the hero or heroine is not going to discover until the fifth.

In "The Pride of Jennico," for instance, the audience knows that the lady in waiting, whom Jennico marries, is really the Princess, and the whole tension of the play lies in the audience's absorbing interest in the question, "How soon will Jennico discover the real personality of the woman he has married?" That is the reason why, although the Princess has more acting to do than Jennico, the latter, nevertheless, is the star part of the play. In watching the performance of this play, it was surprising to me to note how quickly the audience dropped each character after he or she had discovered the identity of the Princess, until its whole interest was centred upon Jennico. When he at last discovered what the audience had known all along, it was time for the curtain to go down, and down it went, amid great applause, because every one in the audience was immensely pleased to think that he or she had known, from the very start, something which it had taken Mr. Hackett nearly three hours to find out. Therein lies the whole secret of successful play-writing.

I consider the production by E. H. Sothern of Meltzer's English version of Hauptmann's "Sunken Bell" one of the most important events of the season. Heinrich, the bell-founder, and Rautendelein, the mountain sprite, are decided departures from the parts which Mr. Sothern and his wife, Virginia Harned, have been acting. Their repertoire has been of the Hope-Dumas style. "The Sunken Bell," I need hardly say, is one of the great dramas of the latter part of the century —highly imaginative, and while immensely effective as a mere play deals, at the same time, with a profound metaphysical problem.[1] Successfully to place a drama of this kind upon the English-speaking stage is an achievement of which any actor may well be proud, and I hope Mr. Sothern's ambition may be spurred on to the production of other plays of equal significance and importance.

I understand that next spring Mr. Sothern is to give an elaborate production of "Hamlet." This reminds me that we have heard very little Shakespeare this winter. I do not recall any Shakespearean play of note this season, except the Irving-Terry representation of

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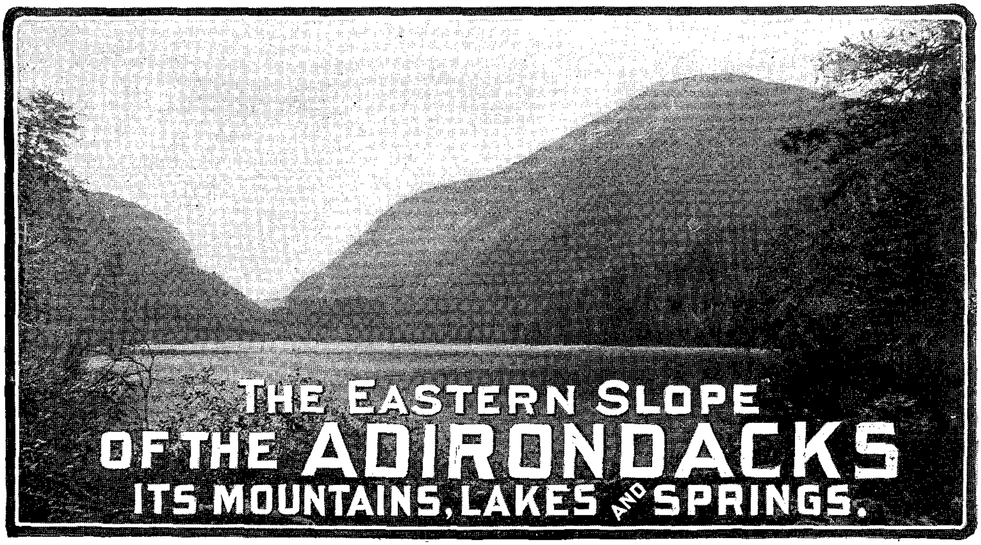
[1] See THE FORUM for December, 1897, p. 432.

"The Merchant of Venice" and Modjeska's "Lady Macbeth." Is the public's interest in the greatest of dramatists falling off? I do not think the lack of Shakespearean productions indicates this. I heard an experienced manager say that if he could find an actor who could play "Hamlet" as well as Edwin Booth, he would mount that play for a whole season's run in New York. The fact is, that Shakespeare appeals, as no one else, both to parquet and gallery; but the standard of acting has been greatly raised of late years, and now in the greatest plays the public will accept only the greatest actors.

I must not close this article without referring to the highly interesting performances of Japanese plays given in the native language by Sada Yacco and Kawakami, and to another Japanese play, an adaptation by David Belasco of "Madame Butterfly," a pathetic story, in which the leading part was played with great depth of feeling by Blanche Bates. These may have been mere bubbles upon the surface of the dramatic stream, but they were iridescent.

Taken all in all, this season has been one of great variety. We have had the problem play—I suppose "Sapho," and "The Degenerates," which Mrs. Langtry gave, can be dignified by that name—tragedy, sentimental drama, melodrama, comedy, farce, and what not? Letting everything pass in mental review, I can see how every success confirms and reconfirms my theory that public taste does not change—that the play which is a first-rate example of its type is always sure of success. GUSTAV KOBBÉ.



THE EASTERN SLOPE OF THE ADIRONDACKS

ITS MOUNTAINS, LAKES AND SPRINGS.

THE Adirondacks are a lofty measure of the pride of New York, which, as a token of the esteem in which they are held, has given them a place in her laws, and appropriated many thousands of dollars for preserving the forests and securing to the people the natural beauties of the mountains. Both for those seeking recreation and health, New York has pointed in her statutes to the Adirondacks which are, at once, a vast forest playground and a sanitarium. Through the needles of their pines the breezes sing of hope for the weak and of sport and recreation for the strong.

It is the breadth of the invitation to these mountains that is so alluring. If one is fascinated by the click of a reel, trout in a hundred clear streams bid a welcome; if the rippling murmur of waters under a canoe is a delight to the ear, a thousand mirror-surfaced lakes hold forth an enticing invitation; if mountain climbing is enjoyed, five hundred green peaks offer an ascending trail. If the delights of the wilderness are too robust, the milder diversions of refined life are to be had on the shores of Lake Champlain or Lake George, which skirt the mountains at the foot of their eastern slope, and at many of the other excellent hotels scattered through the mountains. Golf, tennis and other sports, at these comfortable places of sojourn, divide the time with fishing, shooting, canoeing, and tramping.

That New York should take energetic measures to preserve this empire of natural beauties is merely a recognition of its far-reaching relationship to the well-being of the people. The forests that clothe the Adirondacks are not only a summer home for town-worn men and women, but they are also a necessary protection for the water supply of the great city far to the south.

One doesn't have to be versed in woodcraft to find pleasure in such leafy company as is found in the forests of countless birch, beech, maple, and ash, of hemlock, spruce, fir, and cedar, and of the green boughs of the pine. These trees skirt rivers, encircle lakes, and cover mountains. They make of the Adirondacks the North Woods in truth, a mighty wilderness in which the quarry is not only fish and game but good health. To dwell among them is to feel the thrill and zest of the life of which Browning sang in Saul":

> "Oh, the wild joys of living! the leaping from rock to well,
> The strong rending of the boughs from the fir tree, the cool silver shock
> Of the plunge in a pool's living water."

The Adirondacks are famous for camping. They seem to invite to this form of out-door life. When one finds himself on the trails of the Algonquins and the powerful Iroquois, the feeling seems irresistible to hark back to their life in the open. With rod, and gun, and camp outfit, one need seek no lodge save the vast wilderness itself, and in its leafy solitudes wrap in a warm blanket and "lie down to pleasant dreams." But camp life is no longer a matter of necessity, but one of choice. If preference is for the comforts of a good hotel, it can be followed, or the golden mean of dividing the time between camp and hotel can be adopted. The latter is rather the more common plan among the thousands who go to the Adirondacks every season. It has the merit of offering not only variety, but, doubtless, greater comfort as well. The hotels are the supply depots for camping trips, and from them parties are continually starting into the woods both for long stays and for short ones. Then, too, there are

"Where one may choose between lake or stream."

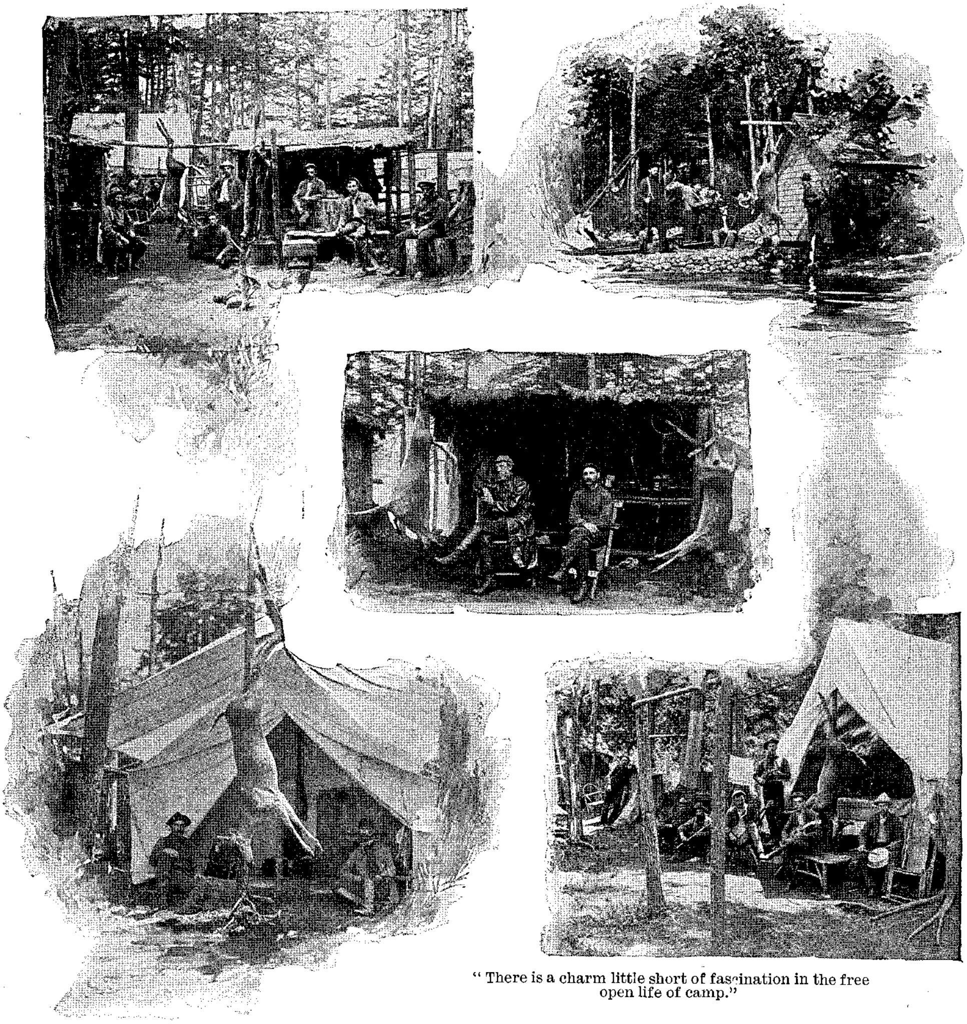
many permanent camps established in various parts of the mountains. These really forest hotels range from the rough-hewn log cabin to the commodious frame house, with many of the appointments and comforts of the city. From these fixed camps, in turn, go out the little camping parties to roam the woods, and pitch their tents wherever it may chance to suit their fancy. There is a charm little short of fascination in leading this free and hearty life of the open. It is a sure antidote for the cares and worries that one is pretty sure to carry away from the city's stress. To drop these is easy enough to do, apparently, but every one knows how hard it is in reality. But not so when one finds himself among the thousand lakes of the Adirondacks. Then cares slip away unconsciously. They fly in a trice like dryads of the woods. The change from the cramped life of the town, and, in particular, from the hard and fast routine of business, is so complete that wholly new conditions crowd in upon one, and supplant those that had become a galling yoke. The swish of the water under the canoe takes the place of the clang of the trolley car; the calm solitude of the forest's night, lulling one to sleep, is the nocturne of peace to be set over against the jarring rumble of the streets. So it is at every turn, from sun to sun. Contrast follows contrast "as the night the day." No wonder body and mind feel the tonic of such refreshing change. Herein lies the never-failing zest of an Adirondack outing. It is as if these wild North Woods were Nature personified, and she, kind mother of us all, had gathered her tired children from the toil of commerce, from the grind of schools, from all the irksome care of the work-a-day world, and taken them in her mighty arms for a sleep that gives rest, for sport that means strength, and for a wholesome communing with herself that freshens the spirit as well as the body.

> "If thou art worn and hard beset
> With sorrows that thou wouldst forget;
> If thou wouldst read a lesson, that will keep
> Thy heart from fainting, and thy soul from sleep
> Go to the woods and hills!"

Nature has shown in these woods one of her wise economies. She has been storing up for centuries the refreshing draughts against these latter days when they could quench weary and parched multitudes of city folk. The mountains have been beckoning with their cool green tops, and the lakes have been sparkling at their feet, during all the generations that have passed since Puritan, Dutch, and Cavalier came to make their homes in America. While these hardy pioneers and their descendants have reclaimed a wilderness, founded States and established a nation, the Adirondacks have been biding their time. Indians have hunted over them, and the snows of many winters have fallen on them, while far to the south, in growing cities, the children of Hollander, French, and English have toiled unceasingly, building their very selves into their factories and farms, their schools, and all their manifold pursuits. Spent at last with the struggle, they have longed earnestly for deep well-springs in which they could renew their strength. Then it was that the great North Woods bade a welcome to their hills, and lakes, and rivers. From their green solitudes they breathed a message of hope and good cheer. Nature was ready for the time of need. In going to the

"Even the children delight in canoeing."

Adirondacks one can ride with the iron horse into the wilderness surrounded by all the accessories of modern travel-comfort. The Delaware and Hudson Railroad and its connections, the Adirondack Railway, the Chateaugay Railroad, and the Champlain Transportation Company steamers, bear one quickly across a century or two, seemingly, into those daring days when Ticonderoga on the edge of the wilderness was a scene of many battles and a place of many flags, the banners of France, England, and America taking turns on the ramparts as signs showing how flowed the tide of war. The wildness of the woods to the west and north is nearly as great now as in those bloody years when the fort on Champlain was the coveted prize of victory. It seems the greater by reason of the contrast offered to the luxury that attends the journey thither.



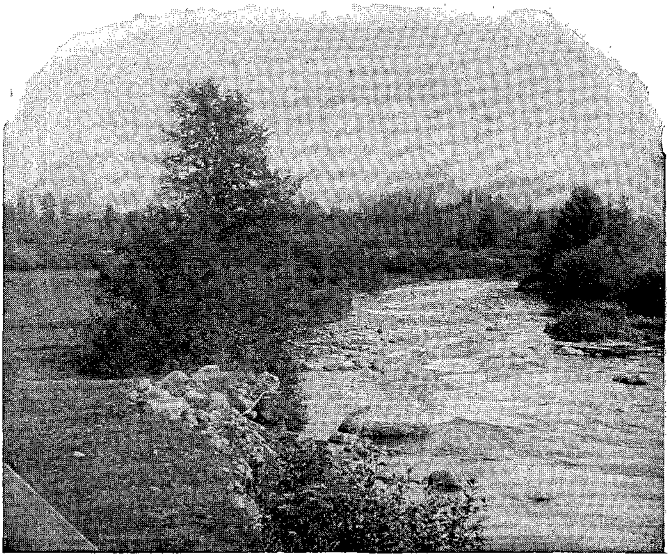
" There is a charm little short of fascination in the free open life of camp."

The Adirondacks are an impressive mountain empire in themselves. They stretch from near the Mohawk on the south to Canada on the north, and from the St. Lawrence on the west to Lake Champlain and Lake George on the east. Much of this vast forest region is a plateau nearly two thousand feet above the sea. Resting on this plateau as a base five ranges of mountains run from southwest to northeast. The most westerly of these five is called the Adirondack range, and in it are the loftiest peaks of the region. Among them is the Indians' Tahawus or "Sky Piercer," which now bears a far less euphonious name, Mt. Marcy, called after a famous statesman of New York. This mountain is 5,337 feet in height, while the nearby summits of Mts. Seward, McIntyre, and White Face reach an elevation of 5,000 or over. The Indian and English names which the peaks bear are a reminder of inter-racial struggles of which this region was the scene.

While there are five ranges of mountains traversing the Adirondack wilderness, it is divided, as was ancient Gaul, into three general divisions. These are the Saranac and St. Regis waters of Franklin County, with Plattsburg and Port Kent on Lake Champlain as the natural gateways; the mountain region in Essex County about Keene, North Elba, and Lake Placid, with the entrance at Westport; or via the Chateaugay Railroad from Plattsburg, and the Loon, Schroon, Blue Mountain, and Racquette lakes country, reached over the Adirondack Railway from Saratoga as an entrance.

" Those spots where tents are pitched on the shores of bewitching lakes."

In the first of these sections there is a happy mingling of city comforts and forest pastimes; social diversions invade the wilderness and divide the time with the strenuous sports of the open. In this region are many admirable hotels which are centres of gayety and cheer. The second section is deeper in the dark solitudes of the forest, but it is visited each season by an increasing number of people who are charmed by its wild life and romantic scenery. It is this part of the mountains, with its strong contrasts of peak and valley, that artists have claimed as their own, and their pictures have been accepted as depicting the typical Adirondack scenery. The third of these sections, that about Schroon Lake, is not so wild as the second, but it is one of many and distinctive charms. In fact each section has an individuality and charms all its own. All are alike in one important particular, however, and that is in the safety and freedom of life, however wild the country.



" In places where the mountain streams race across the valleys,"

The absence of all doubtful characters from the North Woods is one of their attractions. It seems that the wholesome existence people lead among these glorious mountains and lakes tones up their moral as well as their physical natures. In any event one may roam wherever fancy prompts without fear of molestation. Even parties of women make all sorts of trips without other escorts than their guides. These forest pilots are a manly and hardy set of fellows versed in woodcraft, skilful with the canoe, and often accomplished chefs in the appetizing art of camp cookery. It is quite common for parties to make great tours of the woods, paddling through the streams that join the labyrinth of lakes, fishing, catching rare bits of scenery with their cameras, and having hearty

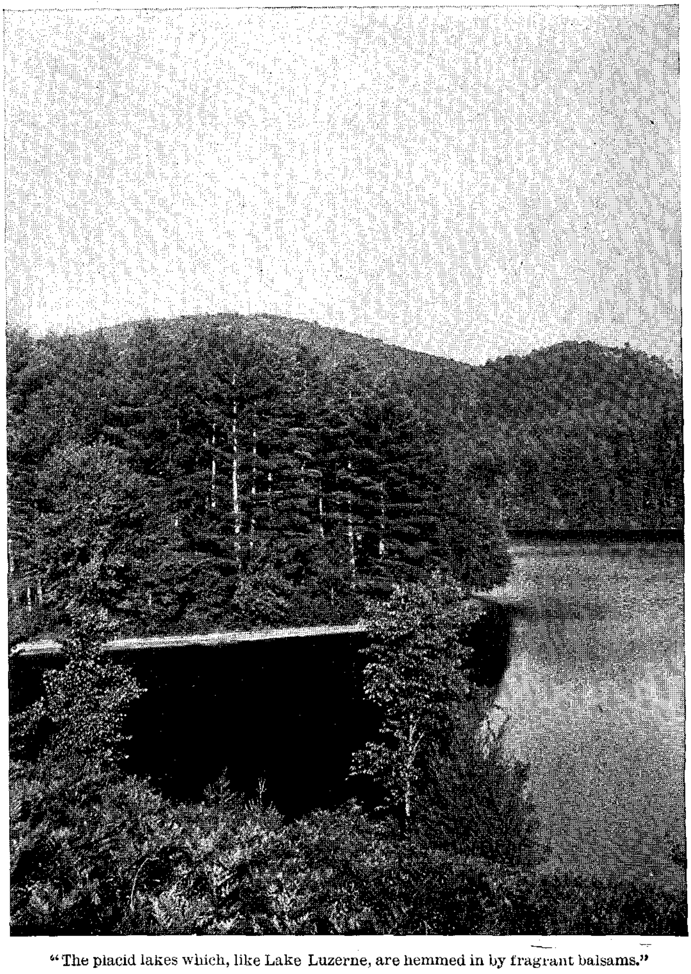
"It is a moment of supreme pride when the hunter returns to camp with trophies of the chase."

time in all manner of ways that suggest themselves when the fragrance of the woods fills the air; when night falls over the mountains rest is found usually either in some one of the many hotels that are located at stated distances through the woods, or at the rude log house or open camp of the interior. If some place of entertainment is not reached when the day ends, the night can be passed comfortably under temporary shelter in the woods. This experience for city people is almost sure to be as pleasant as it is novel.

But description of the beauties of this "forest primeval" and of the delights of dwelling among them are idle unless the way thither were pointed out. Fortunately that way is neither long nor costly, conditions which have been responsible for bringing these mountains of health each year within reach of multitudes of people.

The great thoroughfare over which the travel into the Adirondacks goes is the Delaware and Hudson Railroad. This line stretches from Albany, N. Y., where its general offices are located, southwest through a beautiful region to Binghamton, N. Y., and Wilkesbarre, Pa., and north through Saratoga, more popular than ever as a gay place of summer stay, and up past the bright waters of Lake George and Lake Champlain to the Canadian border. At Saratoga it connects with the Adirondack Railway, which reaches the Racquette, Schroon, and Loon lakes region of the North Woods, and at Plattsburg it connects with the Chateaugay Railroad which goes to Saranac, Lake Placid, and many other principal points of the Adirondacks. At Westport it connects with the excellent system of stage lines covering the central section. At Caldwell on Lake George, and Fort Ticonderoga and Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, it connects with the steamers of the Champlain Transportation Company and the Lake George Steamboat Company, the tickets of the rail and boat lines being interchangeable on Lake Champlain.

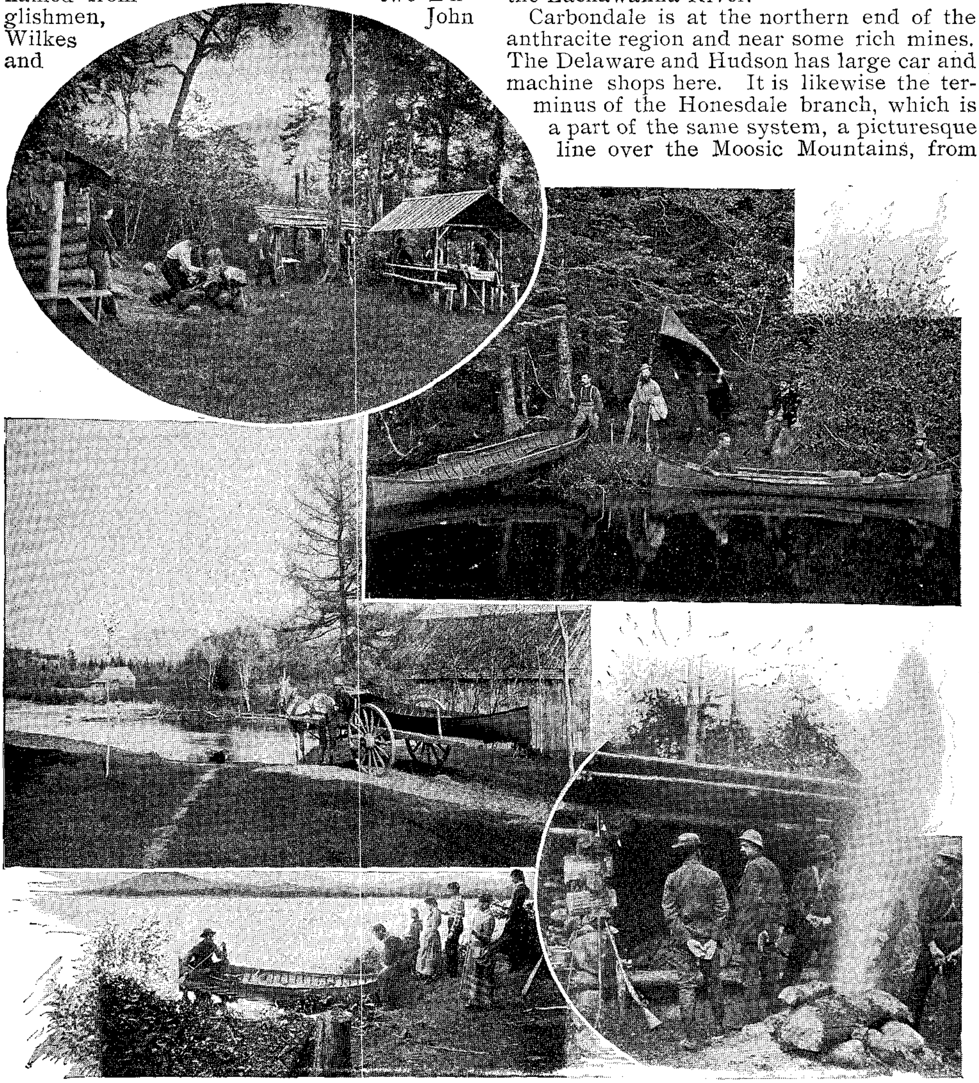
That line of the Delaware and Hudson which runs from Albany in a southwesterly



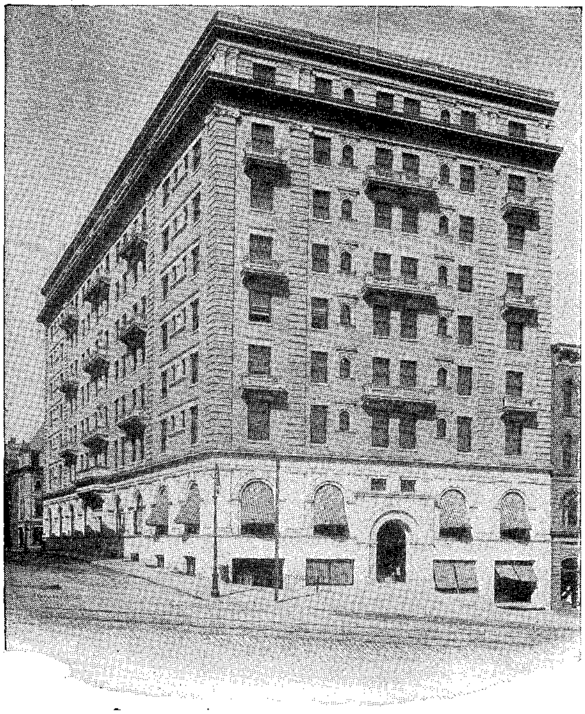
"The placid lakes which, like Lake Luzerne, are hemmed in by fragrant balsams."

direction to Binghamton, branches at Nineveh and thence goes on through Carbondale, with its rich coal mines, to Wilkesbarre, the terminus of this division. Along this line are many attractive little towns and bits of pretty scenery. The city of Wilkesbarre, named from two Englishmen, John Wilkes and William Barre, has a sightly location on the Susquehanna River, in the valley of the Wyoming. Wilkesbarre is the commercial centre of the anthracite coal district of the Wyoming Valley. In the vicinity of Wilkesbarre there are between forty and fifty large coal mines, making the amount of coal tonnage of the city very large. Two other cities devoted to coal are Scranton and Pittston, both on this line. Scranton is notable for having been called at different periods of its history by more names than any other town in the United States. It has survived its changing nomenclature, however, and has long been a flourishing city, famous for its vast manufactures, rolling mills, machine shops, mines and coal shipments. It is situated at the juncture of Roaring Brook and the Lackawanna River.

Carbondale is at the northern end of the anthracite region and near some rich mines. The Delaware and Hudson has large car and machine shops here. It is likewise the terminus of the Honesdale branch, which is a part of the same system, a picturesque line over the Moosic Mountains, from which some of the finest glimpses of mountain and forest scenery in Pennsylvania are to be had. Lake Lodore, about midway between Carbondale and Honesdale, is a beautiful excursion resort, to which large excursions are run every day during the summer and early autumn. Honesdale is also a favorite resting place in summer, its hotels and boarding-houses furnishing satisfactory accommodations for those loving the quiet of a village situated in a region celebrated for its beauty and healthfulness.



"Those who have spent a summer in the North Woods know the pleasures and delights of its free and wholesome life."



"The Hotel Ten Eyck, at Albany, is the most magnificent hotel in the State outside of New York City."

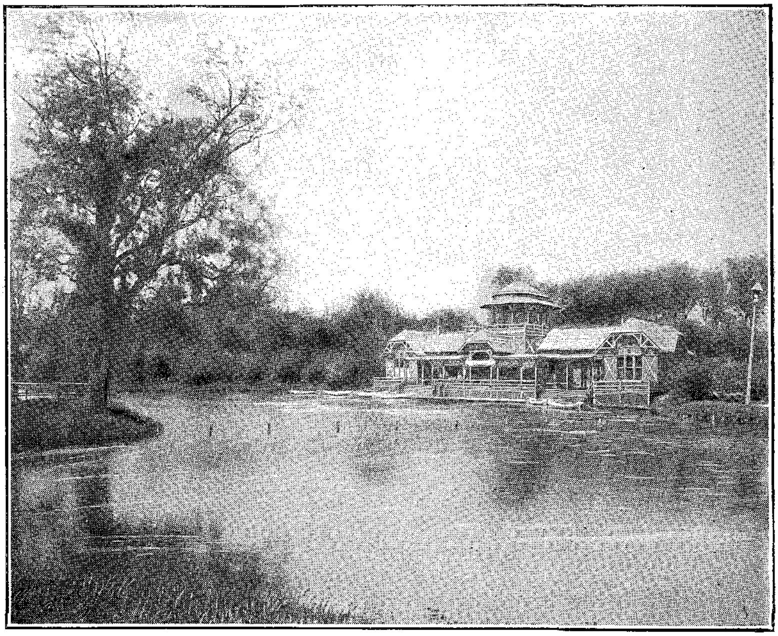
Albany, which has been regarded for centuries as the "gateway of the West," occupies a unique and interesting position among American cities. Through all the early days of colonial history it was a city of great strategic importance and was always considered the capital of the province. It was at Albany that steamboat navigation was first practically demonstrated, and from Albany was first operated the first successful railroad.

A pioneer in many of the great movements of the century, Albany stands among the most progressive of American communities. Her wonderful transportation facilities, her beautiful streets and parks, her educational institutions of note, have given her a fair fame among American cities. Albany offers the stranger within her gates a surprise in the magnificence of her modern and architecturally attractive Hotel Ten Eyck. Nowhere in the Empire State outside New York City is there so beautiful and perfect a hotel, and few American cities have houses which can be properly classed with the Ten Eyck. From every point of consideration it is a gem. Its interior is not only admirable from a decorative and furnishing standpoint, but perfect in arrangements.

Tourists to and from the Adirondacks will find the Ten Eyck a delightful resting place. It is run on both the American and European plans, and its appointments are so complete that either the single traveller or the family may have their wishes in the matter of rooms perfectly met. Every room is finished on a decorative scheme distinct in itself and the furniture is all of the most modern type, the house in its entirety being a gem of good taste and comfort from the rathskeller in the basement to the topmost floor.

One of the most notable features of the Ten Eyck is that it is absolutely fire-proof in construction.

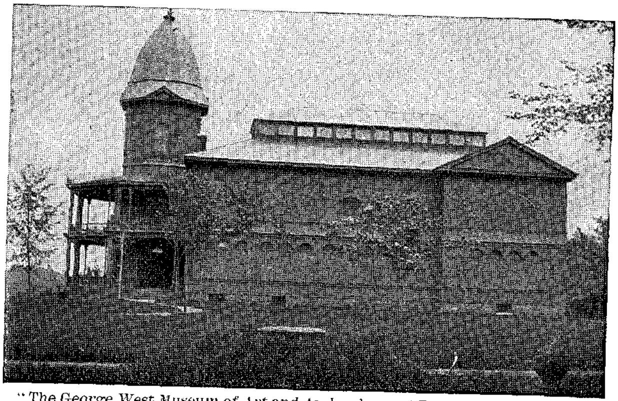
The highest standard of perfection is maintained at the Ten Eyck, both in service and cuisine, and the widespread reputation of Messrs. H. J. and F. W. Rockwell, the proprietors, is a guarantee that it will be maintained. A free carriage runs between the stations and boats and the hotel.



"Albany has a beautiful park system, diversified by lakes and wide stretches of lawn."

"Round Lake is one of the gems of the Empire State in beauty, wholesomeness and surroundings."

Round Lake, between Albany and Saratoga, offers the very choicest of opportunities to summer students, artists, singers, teachers, lovers of the beautiful, seekers of the healthful, and enjoyers of the moral. Good hotels, fine halls, commodious cottages, elegant public buildings, grand auditorium seating near two thousand, and an organ of richest tone and largest compass. Pure water and perfect sewerage. No taint or poison or contagion. Adirondack air, gravelly soil and a royal park of the choicest kinds of shade trees.



"The George West Museum of Art and Archæology, at Round Lake, contains a vast collection of rare specimens."

Here is given the largest freedom — freedom from the conventionalities of the fashionable watering-place. There is no "style" at Round Lake, each does what is right in his own eyes and everybody is happy. There is no place equal to it for purity and beauty. It is the *ideal summer home!* The cost of living is at the minimum and the rich results of health to body, brain, and spirit are at the maximum. It is an ideal place for the summer school, which has been so successful. Lectures, classes, classics, music, art, language, oratory, the grace of Delsartism, the very poetry of life in thought, and love, and motion are instinct in the air. Here is a place where music, art, elocution, language, literature, science, theology, and life blend in happy unison!

For many years Round Lake has presented a series of religious and educational summer meetings of high standard. During all this time the trustees and friends of the Association have earnestly desired to increase their usefulness, believing that the rare facilities offered at this beautiful resort ought to be enjoyed by larger numbers of the people. Coupled with this, has been another that the annual reunions here held might promote a broader fraternity in which members of all denominations might be included. With these purposes in view the trustees have effected an arrangement by which the American Society of Religious Education will again hold upon the grounds a Biblical Assembly, similar to that of last year. The Assembly and the Newman Preachers' Institute have purposes so similar that some of the sessions during the term will be under their joint direction. A circular giving full details may be had by addressing the Secretary of the Round Lake Association.

"The Great Auditorium at Round Lake is admirably appointed to accommodate the vast audiences which gather within it."

Amid all the rivalry of the innumerable places clamoring for popularity as summer resorts, regardless of the ever-changing fickleness of the public which has by turns stamped its seal of approval, now on one place and again on the other, fair Saratoga has reigned supreme as Queen of America's summer resorts. All the others have been and must continue to be compared to her, and be content with the second place. She has fairly won and deservedly holds the title of the most popular and representative resort, where one is sure to find in the fullest degree a representation of the leading circles of wealth and refinement.

Saratoga is the only resort in America which has always perfectly fulfilled the requirements of a summering place, and which has held its popularity without decadence for a full century. It is the only place of prominence to which the celebrated men of the financial, political, literary and commercial life of the nation gather each year as their predecessors did decades ago.

It has all the beauty and charm of a New England village combined with the social and distinctive gayety of Baden-Baden and Homburg, and is held in almost affectionate regard by the thousands who make it their summer home.

The name Saratoga is the modern derivation of the old Indian name Se-rach-ta-gue, which meant "The Hillside Country of the Great River."

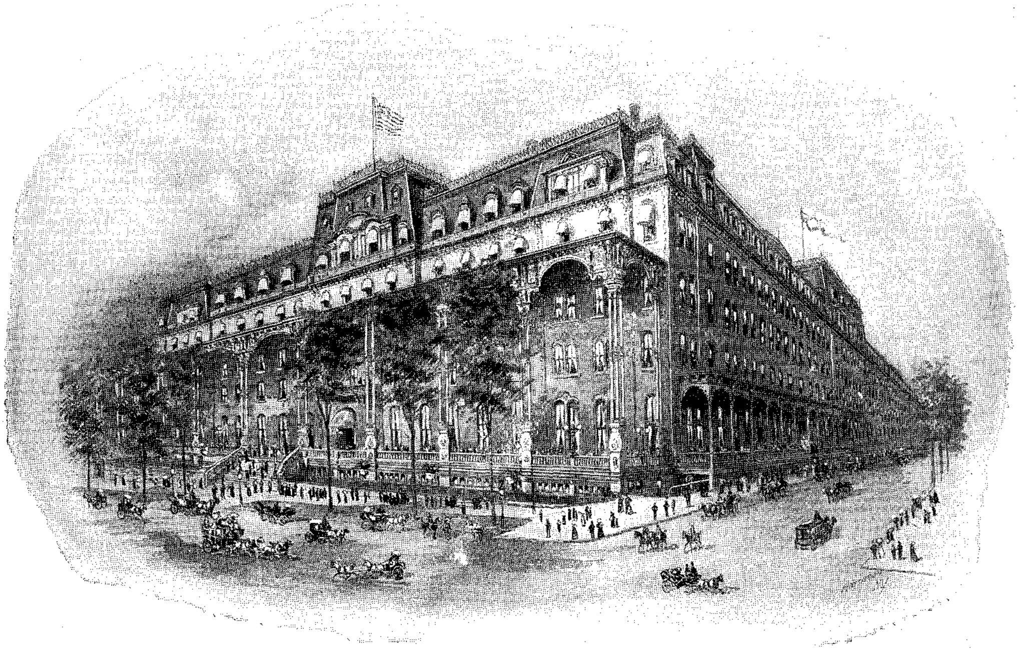
The region was originally deeded by the Indians in 1703, the title being confirmed in 1768. The aborigines regarded the healing springs as the special gift of the Great Spirit.

The first white man to visit the springs for medicinal purposes was a wounded French officer, who was brought here by an Indian.

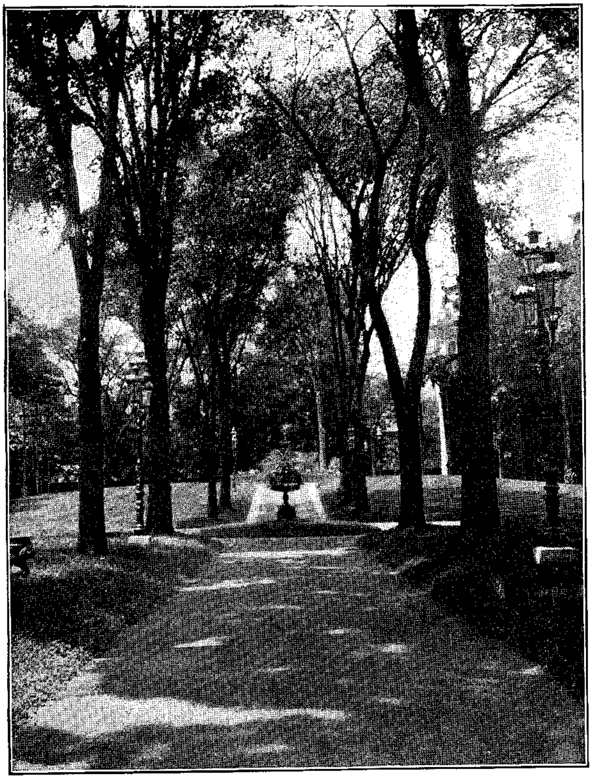
The first hotel was opened for visitors in 1774 by John Arnold, and the first summer cottage was built in 1783 by General Philip Schuyler and occupied by himself and family. The first chemical analysis of the water was made by Dr. Valentine Seaman in 1797, and the first large public house was opened by Mr. Gideon Putnam in 1803.

Saratoga is located close to the eastern edge of New York State, near the gateway of the glorious Adirondack region, 182 miles almost due north from New York, 203 miles west of Boston, 300 miles east of Buffalo, and 202 miles south of Montreal. It is the centre of a region which has for a century been renowned for its healthfulness and the delicious qualities of its unusually dry air, which is a blending of Adirondack breezes with those of the nearby Green Mountains of Vermont. The surrounding region is one of great natural beauty, charmingly diversified with hills, valleys and picturesque streams. It has an altitude of over 300 feet above the sea level, and the air is characteristic for its buoyancy and freedom from all dampness.

The United States Hotel, the social centre of the city, is located on Broadway, the main thoroughfare of Saratoga, in the very centre of its most attractive portion. It has a frontage on this avenue of 237 and 675 feet on Division Street. The present structure was erected in 1874, supplanting the original



"The United States Hotel, at Saratoga, is one of the most delightful resort hotels in America, enormous in size and perfect in appointment."



"The court of the United States Hotel is several acres in extent and its velvety lawns are shaded by splendid forest trees."

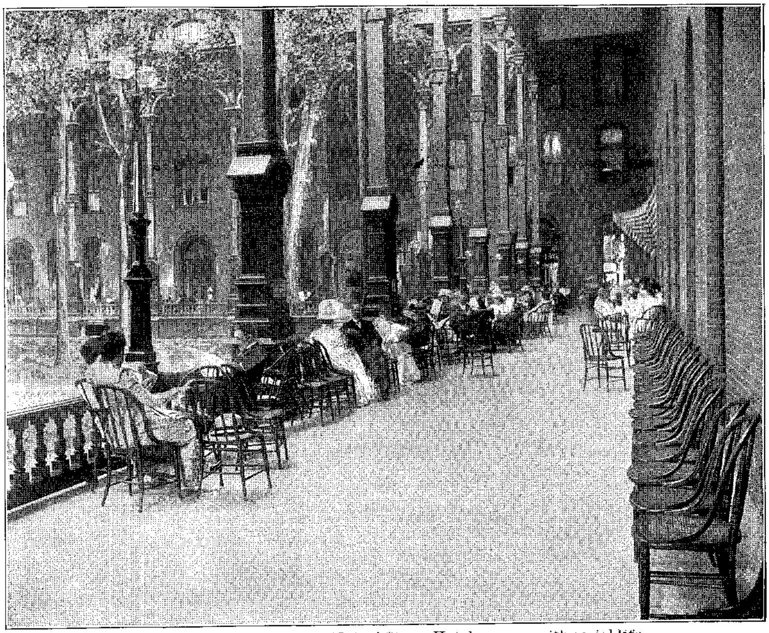
house which was built in 1824. The house and court covers seven acres, and contains upward of 700 guest chambers, and immense salons and ballroom, attractive reading-rooms and semi-private parlors. The "cottage row" facing one side of the court is one of the features of the hotel. It contains sixty suites of from three to five rooms and is a part of, and yet removed from, the hotel proper. Taken as a whole, it is a princely structure, in which, however, immensity does not overcome the air of cheerfulness.

If there is any one feature about the United States Hotel which is more prominent than the others it is the magnificent out-of-door court, which is enclosed by the hotel on three sides. It is several acres in extent and its wide stretches of lawn and pebbly walks are shaded from the direct rays of the sun by handsome old elms. Near the centre of the court is the ornamental pavilion occupied by the splendid orchestra during its morning and evening concerts. Nothing could be more enjoyable than this court during the evening when the wide porches of the hotel are filled with the brilliant social throng enjoying the open air concert.

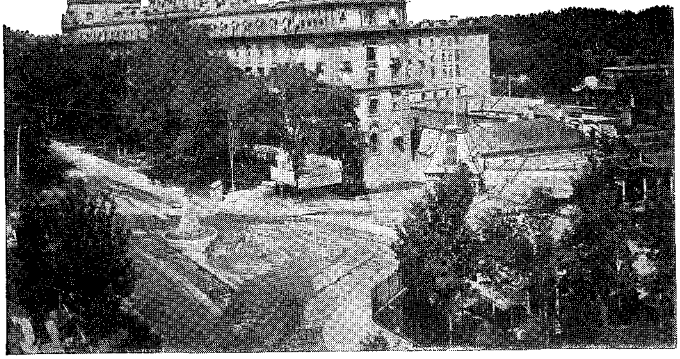
To say that the service and cuisine of the United States Hotel are unequalled is a figure of speech which does not convey to the mind the absolute perfection in these important features of hotel management.

The sources of amusement at Saratoga are many and varied. A more beautiful golf course is not to be found anywhere than that at Saratoga, and guests of the United States Hotel may easily secure tickets entitling them to the privileges of the links. There has also been organized a Polo Club, and its grounds are not only exceedingly beautiful and picturesque, but admirably adapted to this brilliant and manly sport.

The United States Hotel opens for the season of 1900 on Thursday, June 14th, and closes October 1st. It is suggested that parties contemplating a visit to the hotel, especially during July and August, write or telegraph Messrs. Gage and Perry, the proprietors, in advance in reference to rooms so that the management may have the opportunity of meeting their requirements.



"The immense porches of the United States Hotel are gay with social life every day and evening."



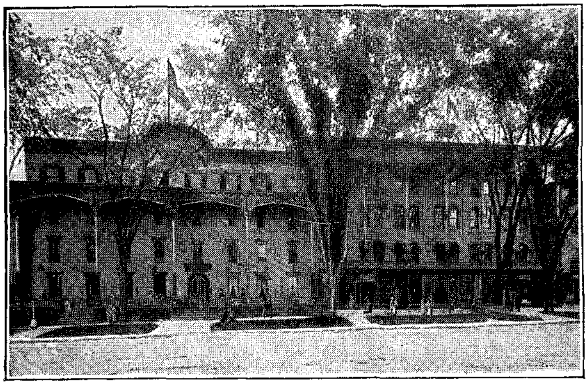
" Congress Hotel is one of the larger hotels at Saratoga and has always enjoyed great popularity."

Congress Hall, one of the most famous and popular of the large hotels located at Saratoga Springs, is in the very heart of the fashionable part of Saratoga, and its great piazzas along the Broadway front are gay with the wealth and fashion which gives Saratoga its prominence over any other resort in the United States. From the Broadway frontage there are two wings, 300 feet long, extending to Putnam Street, and between them a charming garden plot, filled with beautiful flowers and shrubbery and shade-trees. Few more delightful spots could be found in which to pass an hour than in this beautiful park. There are, of course, to be found in Congress Hall all of the elegant and modern appointments which even the most exacting may require. Its attractive dining-rooms, halls, and parlors are models of their kind, and its culinary department is amply provided for the thousand guests which Congress Hall can accommodate. The most careful attention has been paid to the furnishing of the house, and its bedchambers and public rooms are models of comfort and luxury.

On Broadway, in the heart of Saratoga, the centre of the brilliant panorama of life and gayety, is the American Adelphi, two hotels in one, of which Mr. George A. Farnham is the proprietor. Within three minutes' walk of the leading mineral springs and the Saratoga bath-house, the American Adelphi is most conveniently and attractively situated, and the many charms of this delightful hotel have given it a vogue peculiar to itself. The hotel is perfectly appointed, and the table and service are of the highest class, every luxury and delicacy of the season being most plenteously provided.

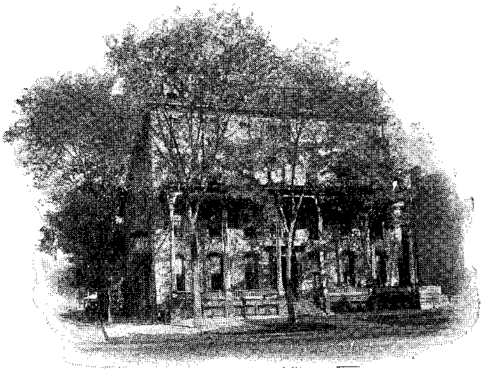
Its dining-halls and parlors are most elegantly appointed, the rooms are all outside, and the most careful attention has been given to the furnishing of the house throughout.

The spacious piazzas overlooking Broadway, and delightfully shaded by great trees, are only one of the many attractions of the American Adelphi which have made it famous throughout the world as an abode of comfort and of pleasure.



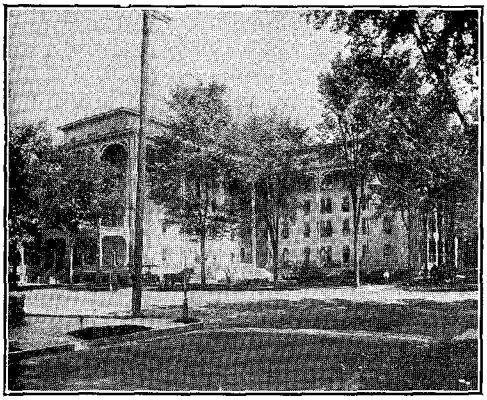
"The American Adelphi at Saratoga has long been a favorite."

Worden's Hotel, at Saratoga Springs, is an all-the-year-round house, and is one of those comfortable, delightful places where one may be certain of securing excellent accommodations. While the fame of Saratoga rests upon its being a summer resort, it is, in fact, one of the most delightful places to go in the winter season, and Worden's Hotel not only has a full complement of summer guests, but, after the great summer throngs have gone, maintains its popularity with those who are familiar with Saratoga when it is mantled with snow and when winter sports rule the day. Mr. W. W. Worden, the proprietor, is thoroughly alert to all that is modern in hotel keeping, and this accounts in a large measure for the popularity of his house.



" The Worden, at Saratoga, is open all the year around."

Notable among Saratoga hotels is the Kensington, situated on the high ground of Union Avenue overlooking the famous Congress Park. Union



"The Kensington at Saratoga is most admirably located in a most desirable part of the city."

Avenue is the finest drive in Saratoga and the main thoroughfare leading to the Lake, the Race Course, and to the Battlefield, and one of the pleasures of a residence at the Kensington is to watch each day the endless procession of wealth and fashion as it passes to and from the Lake and the Race Course. A porch, 240 feet long and 20 feet wide, affords a charming promenade for the guests of the hotel, which under the excellent management of H. A. and W. F. Bangs continues in popularity.

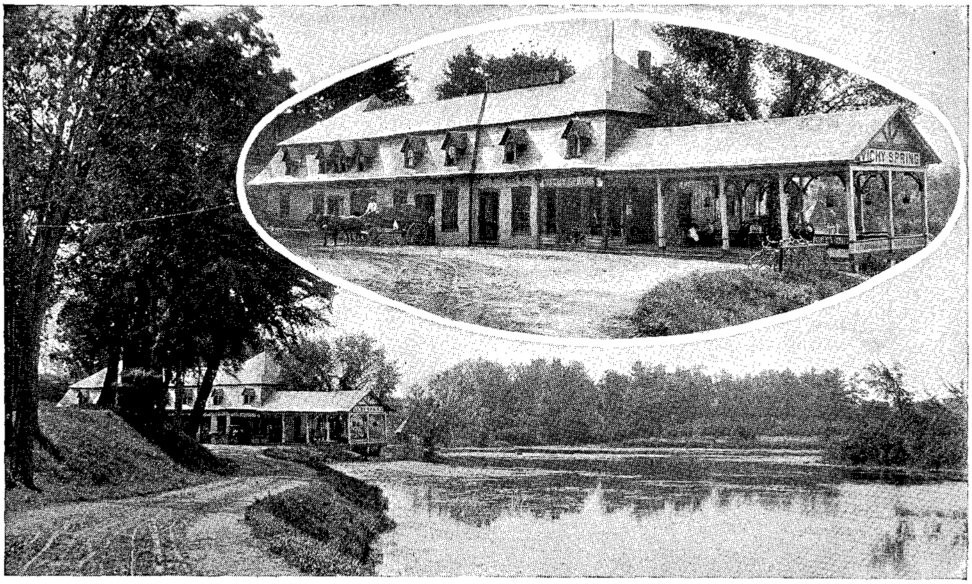
"The Arondack Spring at Saratoga, formerly known as the Kissingen, is known from ocean to ocean for the curative values of its waters."

Arondack Spring, Saratoga, was formerly called the Kissingen—the name being changed to Arondack to prevent confusion with the Bavarian Kissingen, which is an entirely different water. The Arondack is deservedly one of the most valuable and popular of the older springs in Saratoga, as its water is peculiarly delightful to the taste, and is full of life with its own natural carbonic acid gas. The medicinal value of the Arondack Water is well known to the medical profession as being most efficient in relieving dyspepsia, stomach and kidney troubles, insomnia, and nervousness, and is an ideal table tonic and digestive agent, mixing well with wines, liquors, and milk.

The Arondack Water is put up in very stylish bottles, which hold full quantities, and the labels are most attractive. Only new bottles are used, therefore in drinking the Arondack no risk is run of contamination or fevers often introduced by second-hand unclean bottles.

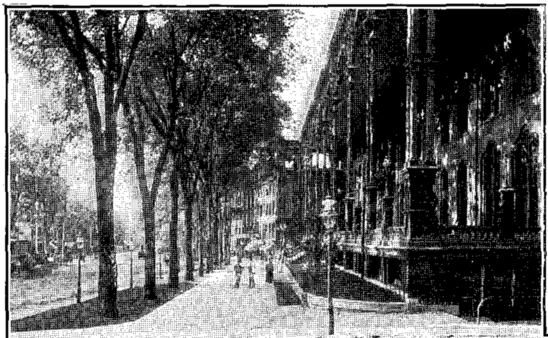
The Arondack Water is distinctive, being a high-class American water for high-class Americans. It is in general use by all first-class clubs, cafés, and hotels. The headquarters of the company is Saratoga, but they have branches at 1362 Broadway and 5 Astor House, opposite the General Post Office, in New York City, where the water is for sale in bulk, by the glass, bottle, and in cases; also depots in nearly all large cities.

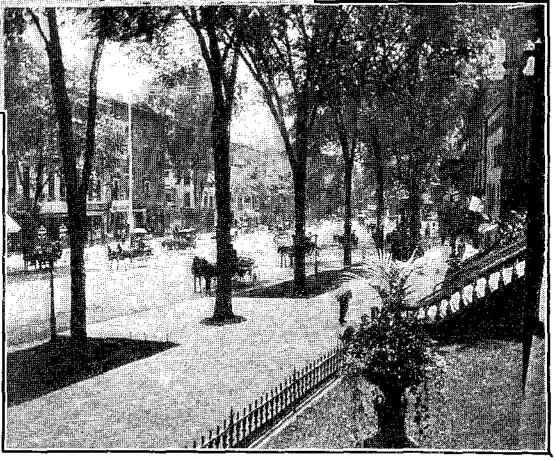
Among the springs which have made Saratoga famous, none has a wider or greater reputation than the Saratoga Vichy, which is a veritable geyser, the pressure of the natural carbonic acid gas being so strong that it forces the highly charged mineral water out and throws it several feet into the air. The spring is in the midst of a park with scenic surroundings among the most attractive in Saratoga. The water from this spring is not saline but alkaline, and it is, therefore, exceedingly beneficial. The large quantity of bicarbonate of soda contained in it makes it of very great value in counteracting the acidity of the stomach and the blood. Its power of strengthening the digestive function and



"The Vichy Springs at Saratoga are in a beautiful park, and are visited each season by thousands who find the waters of great value."

in eliminating the stubborn and dangerous diseases of the depurative organs is very great. Its value as a therapeutic agent is very well known, and it is sold throughout the civilized world. The appliances for bottling the water at the spring, just as it flows from the rock, are such as to preserve all of its natural carbonic acid gas, which gives it the same sparkling effervescence and delicious taste, even after it has been bottled for long periods. The Saratoga Vichy is a delicious beverage, refreshing and slightly stimulating, and its popularity is exceedingly great, not only as a pleasant table water, but a valuable remedy.

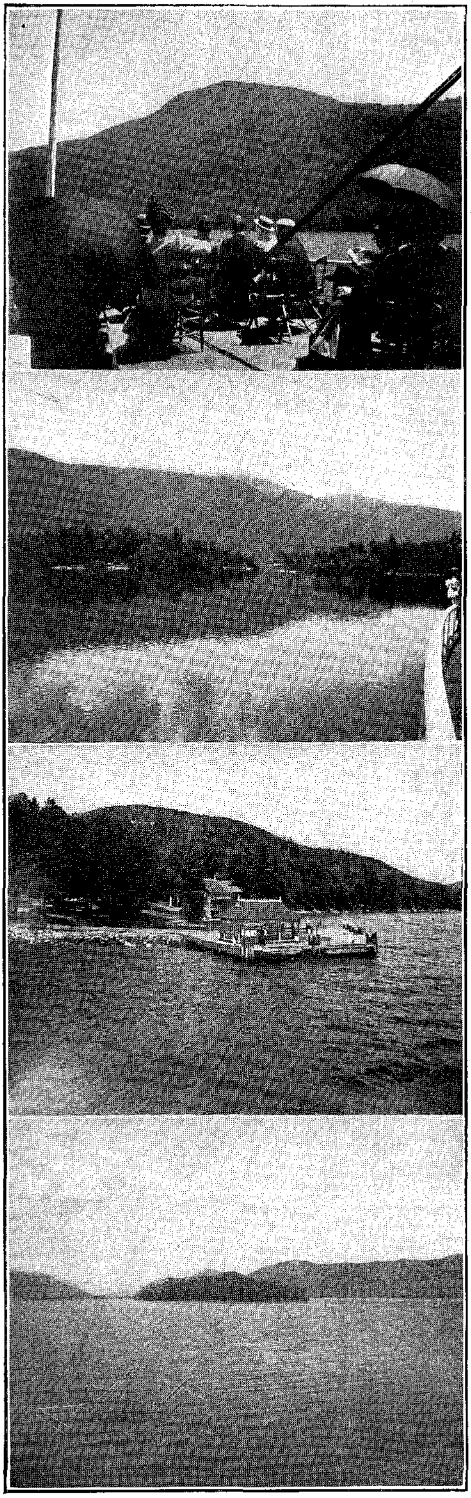




"Broadway, the main avenue of Saratoga, is the one upon which are located the larger hotels."

In 1896 a new and wonderful spring was discovered on the property of the Lincoln Spring Company, about a mile from Monument Square, and was named the Lincoln. From a depth of 425 feet, this water, highly charged with natural carbonic gas, forces its way to the surface. So highly charged indeed is it that in bottling it for export the addition of gas is not required, and no matter how long it has been bottled, it is still effervescent and bubbling when opened. The water from this spring is exceedingly delightful to the taste, and its healing qualities have even far exceeded the most sanguine hopes of its projectors.

Physicians everywhere have signified their appreciation of its medicinal value by prescribing it to their patients, and many acute cases of rheumatism, diabetes and dyspepsia have been almost marvellously cured



"The trip through Lake George is one of continued interest."

by its use. As an alterative and diuretic, it is also exceedingly valuable, while as a table water it is unsurpassed in delightfulness of flavor and purity. The "Lincoln," while new among Saratoga's famous springs, has achieved a wonderful popularity and vogue.

Horicon, or "Silvery Water," was the Indian name which James Fennimore Cooper bestowed upon the most beautiful of American lakes. The title, like the dusky tribe that first bore it, long since passed from its shores and waters; and it is Lake George, the namesake of an English king, that we know and love to day. It is thirty-three miles from the head of Lake George to historic old Fort Ticonderoga, near whose crumbling ruins is the outlet into Lake Champlain. In this seemingly peaceful region much of the early history of our country was made, for it was the battle-ground for Indian, French, and English wars for many years. Many a life was gallantly lost in the skirmishes, ambuscades, and bloody battles on land and water. In 1757 occurred the Indian massacre, which followed the demolition of the English fort, William Henry, by the French under brave Montcalm.

In the following year, the placid lake and its encircling mountains formed the setting for a most picturesque scene in military operations. The English determined upon an attack on Ticonderoga, and accordingly embarked on Lake George. A flotilla of more than a thousand boats, with cannon mounted on rafts, with flags waving and martial music sounding, swept down the lake to what seemed sure victory. But again did the British meet defeat. Once more Montcalm won the day, the English being repulsed with the loss of their brave general, Lord Howe, and nearly two thousand men.

But enough of sanguinary annals; they serve only to add historical interest to the natural charms of the region.

Legends and traditions abound concerning nearly every nook, and it is a wise man who can invariably discern the true from the fabulous in these ancient tales. Cooper found here rich material for his best-known tale, and to this day the localities immortalized in "The Last of the Mohicans" are pointed out as the scenes of actual occurrences.

For natural beauties Lake George stands unrivalled among the waters of America, or, for that matter, of Europe. Girdled by majestic mountains which stretch down to the very edge of the water, the lake seems the centre of a natural wooded ampitheatre. Sheltered and as it were jealously guarded by the sylvan heights towering above its sapphire waters, it lies—

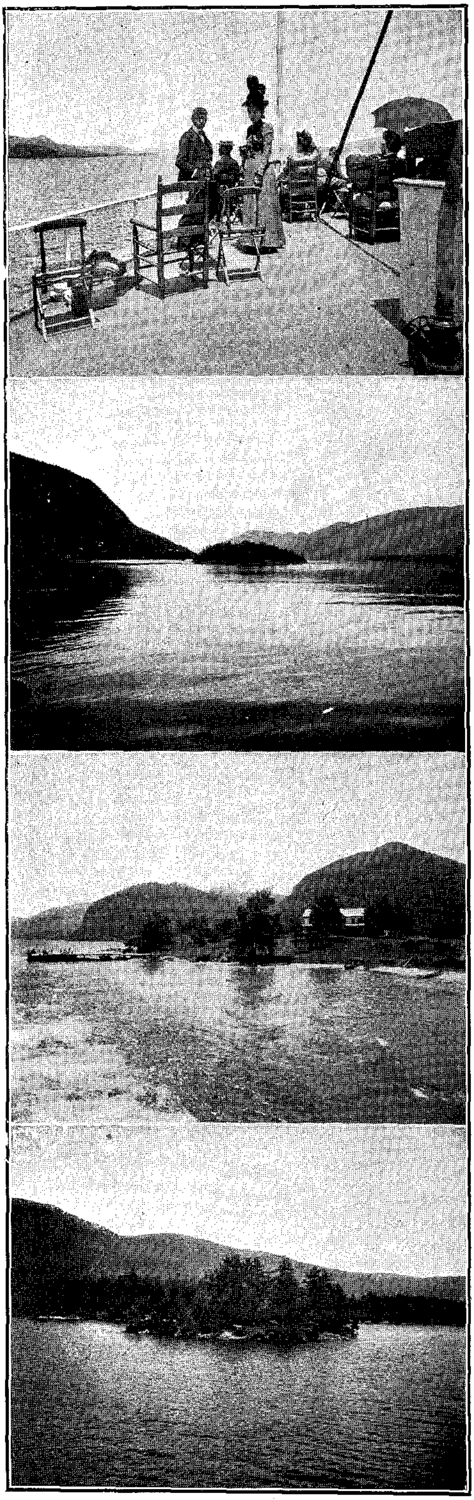
> "With promontory, creek and bay
> And islands that, empurpled bright,
> Floated amid the livelier light,
> And mountains, that like giants stand
> To sentinel enchanted land."

Thus Scott in "The Lady of the Lake" wrote of Loch Katrine, the same fair lake which N. P. Willis has compared closely to Lake George. His description is one of the best written of our lake: "Loch Katrine, at the Trossachs, is a miniature likeness of Lake George. It is the only lake in Europe that has the same style or degree of beauty. The small green islands with their abrupt shores—the emerald depth of the water, overshadowed and tinted by the tenderest moss and foliage—the lofty mountains in the background—and the tranquil character of the lake, over which the wind is arrested and rendered powerless by the peaks of the hills and the lofty island summits, are all points of singular resemblance." And then speaking of the wealth of the islands he goes on: "Lake George, throughout all the mazes of its three hundred and sixty-five islands, preserves the same wild and racy character of beauty. Varying in size from a mile in length to the circumference of a tea-table, these little islets present the most multiplied changes of surface and aspect—upon some only moss and flowers, upon others a miniature forest, with its outer trees leaning over to the pellucid bosom of the lake, as if drawn downward by the reflection of their own beauty."

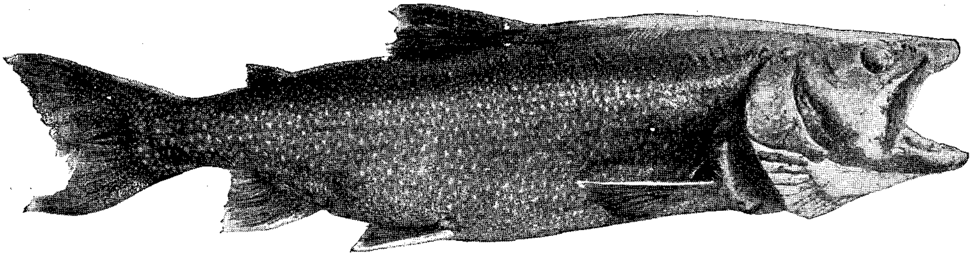
Lake George varies in width from three-quarters of a mile to four miles. Completely shut in by the mountains, which hang in bold cliffs over the water, or stretch into it in rocky promontories, the lake in its narrower parts seems like some lordly river. Its hundreds of islands, most of which are the property of the State, furnish temporary homes for many summer visitors, who bring their tents and enjoy camp life "far from the madding crowd." On those of the islands which are private property, such as Sanford Island, the magnificent estate of Dr. D. S. Sanford, attractive cottages have been built by their owners. At times these islets are so close together that the steamers have difficulty in threading their way among them. In some of the sheltered bays, formed between spurs of the hills as they project into the water, the tranquil surface is carpeted with acres of fragrant water lilies.

Like Lake Champlain into which it empties, Lake George flows northward. Right at the head of the lake is its principal town, Caldwell. This pretty village affords the first full view of the lake, and a most glorious one it is.

The Lake George branch of the Delaware and Hudson leaves the main line at Fort Edward and terminates on the pier directly at the side of the handsome and fast steamers of the Champlain Transportation Company which make daily trips through the lake. The beauty and charming delights of this trip with its score of stops at the various picturesque landings need not be told to those who have made it. There is nothing more beautiful on the American continent, and those who have made the journey through lovely Lake Como in Italy find there little of advantage in scenic attractions. The Lake George service is performed by three handsome steamers, the *Horicon*, the *Ticonderoga*, and the *Mohican*. The two former, which run between Caldwell at one end of

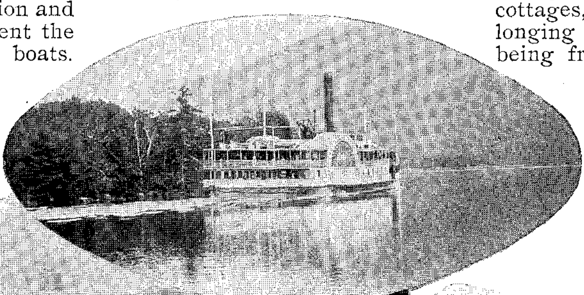


"From the deck of a Lake George steamer one has an ever-changing panorama."

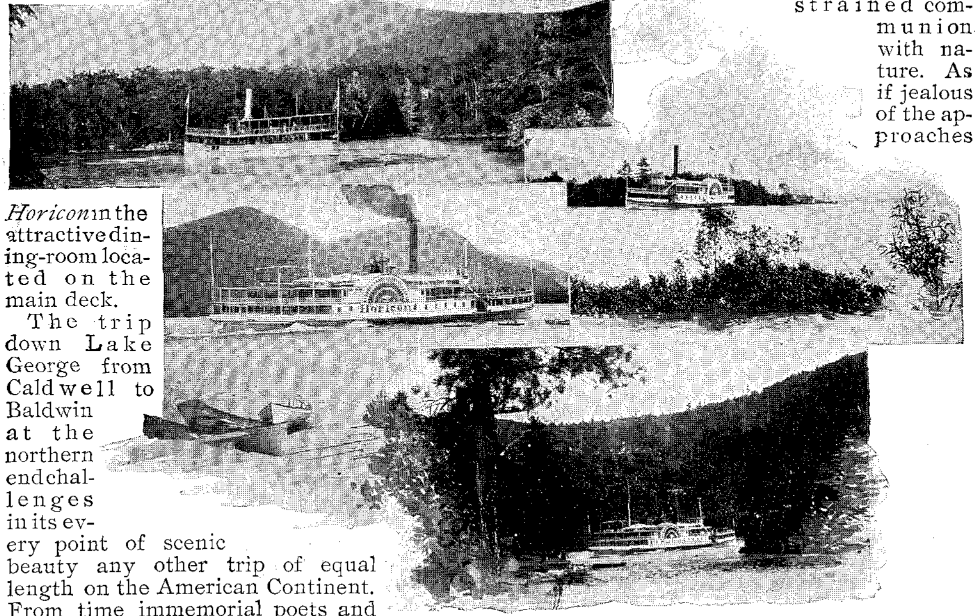


"Lake George has been so frequently stocked with trout, land-locked salmon and other game fish that it now offers the fisherman splendid sport."

the Lake and Baldwin at the other, are fast side-wheelers, admirably appointed, and kept up to the highest point of perfection. They each have broad decks fully supplied with comfortable arm-chairs, and handsomely furnished cabins. The *Mohican* is a propeller of recent construction and is used to supplement the work of the large boats. During the tourist season she makes the trip daily from Caldwell to Paradise Bay and return. Excellent meals are served on the *Horicon* in the attractive dining-room located on the main deck.



The trip down Lake George from Caldwell to Baldwin at the northern end challenges in its every point of scenic beauty any other trip of equal length on the American Continent. From time immemorial poets and writers have apostrophized Lake George and laid their literary tributes, in prose and verse, upon its altar. Between the great ridges of mountains which close in upon its sides for its entire length there lies a lake whose crystalline depths reflect so perfectly the blue azure of the sky that as it sparkles in the sunlight it almost reverses, and equals in brilliancy, the blue dome of the heavens above. Dotting its limpid surface are more than three hundred rocky and wooded islands, so closely crowded together in some parts of the lake that a pilot's utmost skill is required to guide the great white steamers between them. Many of these islands have been made attractive by quaint and sightly cottages, while others, belonging to the State and being free to all comers, have been made temporary homes by summer campers, who have spread their tents under the dense foliage, to enjoy, free from the conventionalities of hotel life, unrestrained communion with nature. As if jealous of the approaches of the grim old mountains, the lake has, in many instances, crowded itself between them, and thus have been formed some of the loveliest of bays where, protected from the winds and shaded by the wide-spreading trees along their edges, acres of water-lilies have claimed the domain as their own and spread over the tranquil water a carpet of leaf and blossom

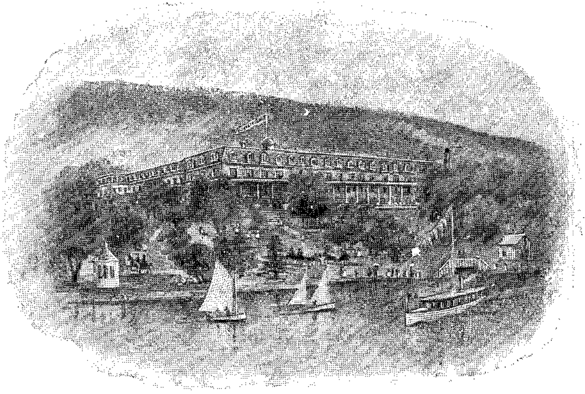


"The trip down Lake George from Caldwell to Baldwin challenges in scenic beauty any water trip in America."

of nature's own design, beautiful beyond description. It is in these sequestered spots that we may realize the delights of the spirit of *dolce far niente*.

The two well-appointed steamers, *Horicon* and *Ticonderoga*, or "Ti," as it is familiarly called, on their journey down the lake, make a score of stops, and cross and re-cross the lake many times. At each of these landing-places are hotels, all with characteristic attractions and filled with summer guests.

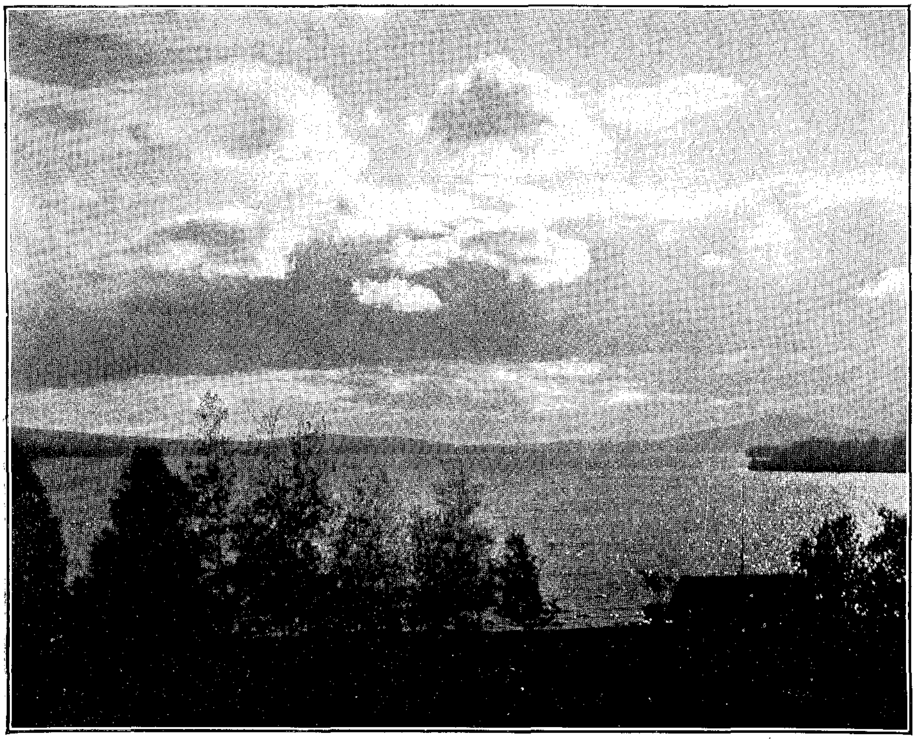
On the western shore of the lake, six miles below Caldwell, and almost hemmed in by the mountains at its rear, stands the deservedly popular Marion House. From its wide porches or beautiful lawn a view of almost the entire length of Lake George can be seen.



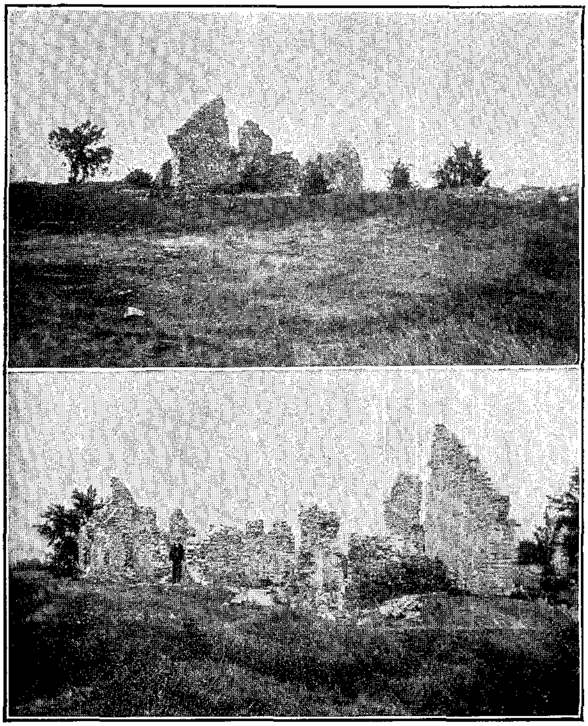
"Those who tarry at Lake George will find the best of accommodations at the Marion."

The sloping lawns, with terraces and steps, render an easy descent to the lake and boat landing. Walks radiate in every direction under the pine trees along the shore, north and south, into the forest, and up the mountain side at the rear of the house, and there are many opportunities for recreation, including excellent golf links. The house has accommodations for three hundred and fifty guests. It is equipped with a hydraulic elevator, steam heat, electric bells, gas, and electric lights. Its plumbing is of the very best and of the most modern type. The public rooms are spacious, delightfully open to the air, richly furnished throughout, and have open wood fires, and its sleeping-rooms large and comfortable. Those who desire to tarry upon Lake George will find the best accommodations at the Marion, of which Mauser & Davis are proprietors. West Side P. O., Lake George, N. Y.

Baldwin, at the northern end of the lake, is the terminus of the Fort Ticonderoga branch of the D. and H. R.R. The steamers make close connections there with the trains of this line, and also with the steamers of the Champlain Transportation Company.



"The scenery on Lake George is particularly beautiful and picturesque from any point of view."



"The ruins of old Fort Ticonderoga still stand as mute sentinels of a bloody past."

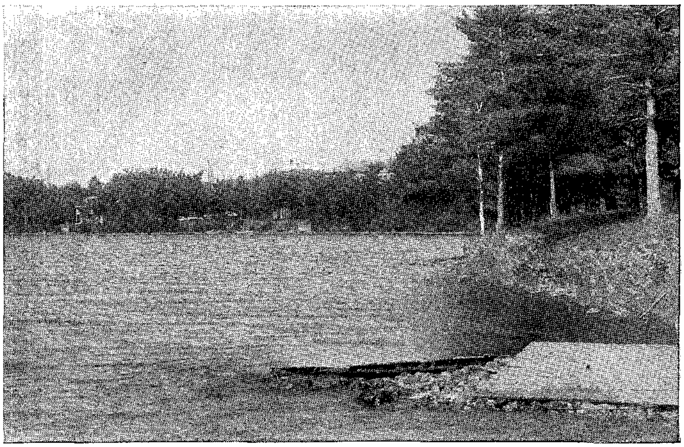
The little stream which runs into Lake Champlain at old Fort Ticonderoga from Lake George falls 246 feet in the four miles, almost one continuous waterfall.

For a hundred and twenty-six miles Lake Champlain is the boundary between the States of New York and Vermont. Like Lake George it is long and narrow in form, being a trifle over twelve miles in width at its broadest portion. At Ticonderoga it broadens into a beautiful inland sea which reaches its greatest breadth between Burlington and Port Kent. As often happens in members of the same family, the sister lakes are widely differing in outward aspect and in disposition. About Lake Champlain the mountains are less bold; they retreat in successive ranges from the water, often leaving broad acres of farm country between themselves and the lake. The vistas are longer and the views more comprehensive, though no less enchanting than those of Lake George. The mountain scenery is varied by stretches of rich table land, by prosperous farms, and pretty villages. The lake has a most irregular coast line, being rich in beautiful bays and inlets, and has on its surface about half a hundred islands. Less sheltered and confined than Lake George, it is more capricious, only a very few minutes sufficing to change its smiling surface from a placid mirror to a white-capped sea. Its changing moods lend pleasing variety to its aspect. After receiving sundry names, that of Champlain, the explorer who entered upon its waters eleven years before the Pilgrims touched Plymouth Rock, has become a permanent and suitable designation.

One of the most delightful of water trips on the American continent is the one on the handsome steamboats *Vermont* and *Chateaugay*, of the Champlain Transportation Company. They touch at all principal points, and make the round trip of the lake every day. In this connection it is interesting to note that Lake Champlain was the first inland water on the American continent navigated by civilized man.

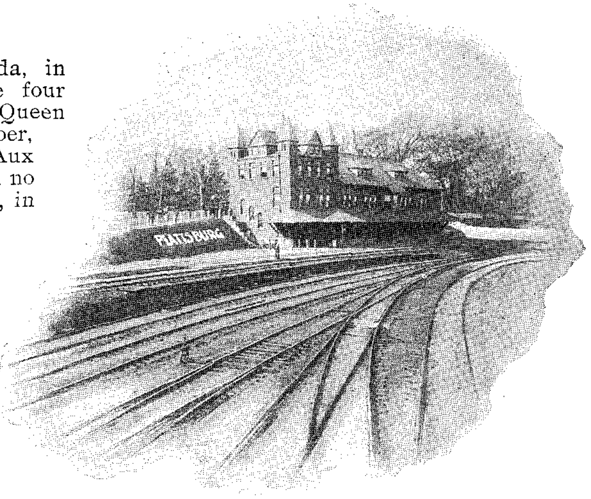
Tourists on the Delaware and Hudson Railroad have their choice of making the trip either way between Fort Ticonderoga to Plattsburg or Hotel Champlain by rail or by steam, the tickets being interchangeable.

Steam navigation upon Lake Champlain was practically contemporaneous with the inauguration of a steamboat service on the Hudson by the *Clermont*, in 1807. The very next spring, that of 1808, witnessed the building of the second steamboat in the world, at Burlington, which was launched into Lake Champlain, at the foot of King Street, near the present dock of the Champlain Transportation Company. It was named the *Vermont*, and was 120 feet long. Her decks were clear, having no pilot house, being steered by a tiller. The *Vermont* was equipped with an engine of 20-horse power. She began her regular trips between White-



"The shores of Lake Champlain from its northern to its southern extremity are attractive."

hall, New York, and St. Johns, Canada, in June, 1809; making a speed of some four miles an hour. The *Vermont* was "Queen of the Lake" for six years, but in October, 1815, she was sunk a wreck near Isle Aux Noix. During this period the boat had no competitors except sailing vessels, which, in a good breeze, frequently passed her.



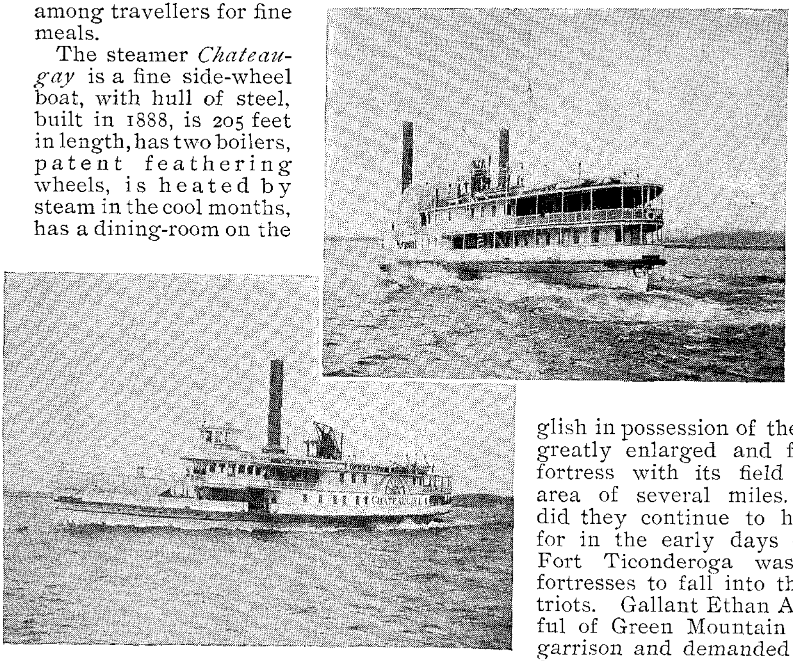
The Station of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad at Plattsburg, N. Y.

The success attending the operation of the first steamboat on Lake Champlain resulted in the organization, in 1813, of the "Lake Champlain Steamboat Company," with a capital of $100,000. This was the first steamboat company formed in America, and its subsequent consolidation with the Champlain Transportation Company makes the latter the oldest organized steamboat company in the world, and it is recognized everywhere as being one of the best equipped and best managed of our inland water transportation companies. The present fleet consists of the *Vermont*, the *Chateaugay*, and the *Maquam*.

During the season of navigation the *Vermont* plies every week day between Plattsburg, Burlington, and Ticonderoga, making the round trip by daylight. The *Chateaugay* runs from Westport to Burlington, Plattsburg, and North Hero, and return. Both steamers touch at numerous intermediate points between these terminal points.

The *Vermont* is the largest of the fleet, a magnificent side-wheel boat, 271 feet long, 65 feet wide over all, 11½ feet hold; is elegantly equipped and has 56 staterooms. She has an excellent steward's department, and is famed among travellers for fine meals.

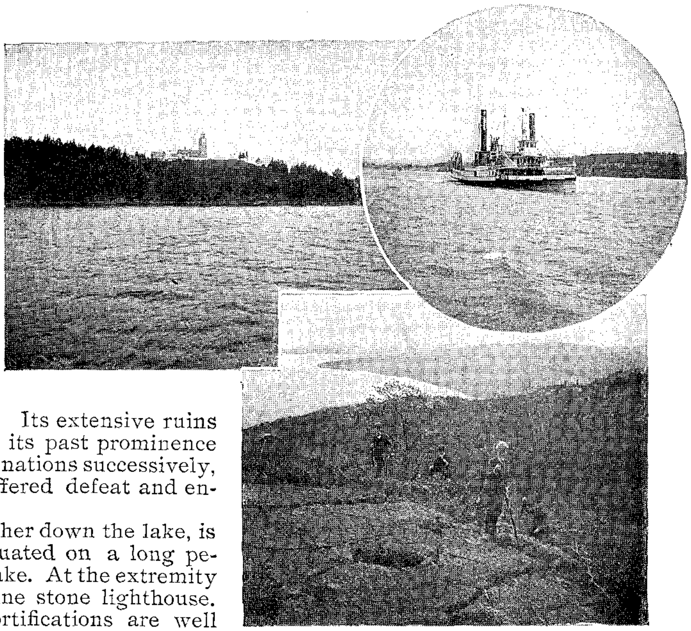
The steamer *Chateaugay* is a fine side-wheel boat, with hull of steel, built in 1888, is 205 feet in length, has two boilers, patent feathering wheels, is heated by steam in the cool months, has a dining-room on the main deck, and is handsomely furnished in every detail.



"The steamers of the Champlain Transportation Company are splendid types of marine architecture."

The southern port on Lake Champlain and the terminus of the steamship line has been Fort Ticonderoga, from the first of our national history the scene of stirring events. The old fortress, whose venerable ruins still stand on the summit of the promontory, had a natural location for purposes of defence, being skirted on three sides by water, and on the fourth by a swamp, and standing almost one hundred feet above the lake. The first defences were built here as early as 1690, about a year before Major Schuyler brought together the Mohawk and white forces that were here defeated. The old fort was built by the French in 1756, and named Fort Karilton; soon afterward occurred the attack and repulse of General Abercrombie, with great loss of life.

In 1759 Lord Amherst was more successful, and the French, finding that they could not hold the works, dismantled them and withdrew, leaving the English in possession of the stronghold. They greatly enlarged and fortified it, and the fortress with its field works covered an area of several miles. But not for long did they continue to hold it unmolested, for in the early days of the Revolution, Fort Ticonderoga was one of the first fortresses to fall into the hands of the patriots. Gallant Ethan Allen, with his handful of Green Mountain boys, surprised the garrison and demanded the surrender of the fort "in the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," and it was



"The voyage on historic Lake Champlain is full of interest."

promptly surrendered. In 1777 Burgoyne, coming down from Canada, placed his battery on Mt. Defiance, a commanding eminence opposite. Training his guns on the old fort, he reduced it, and forced a surrender. A few weeks afterward Colonel Brown and the New England soldiers recaptured the fortress, and freed the one hundred American prisoners. From that time on the fort was allowed to fall into decay, with the exception of a brief occupation by General Haldemand in 1780. Its extensive ruins remain to speak eloquently of its past prominence as the stronghold of three great nations successively, and the scene where each suffered defeat and enjoyed victory.

Crown Point, eight miles farther down the lake, is the site of another old fort, situated on a long peninsula stretching out into the lake. At the extremity of the promontory there is a fine stone lighthouse. The ruins of the very large fortifications are well preserved, the ramparts being a full half mile around, twenty-five feet high and of like thickness.

Like Crown Point, Port Henry, a town eighteen miles from Ticonderoga, is the centre of extensive iron mines. Several great blast furnaces have been built near the steamer's landing. Just beyond Port Henry the scenery is particularly fine, including views of Mt. Mansfield and Camel's Hump, peaks of the Green Mountains, on one side of the lake, and the blue Adirondacks on the other.

Eleven miles farther is the pleasant village of Westport, situated on Westport Bay. This locality is famous from Gen. Benedict Arnold's fight with the *Congress* on the 13th of October, 1776. The English forces under Captain Pringel proved too much for Arnold, and running the *Congress* galley and four gondolas into a bay opposite Westport, he burned them to the water's edge. Pieces of the old ship and some of the cannon have been recovered from the lake. By reason of its natural advantages Westport is a summer resort of itself, besides being one of the principal entrances to the great Adirondack country. A curiosity of nature in this vicinity is Split Rock, originally known as "The Cloven Rock," a cliff thirty feet in height, and comprising about half an acre of tree covered earth and stone, cut off from the mountain by a clean fissure some twelve feet wide, and turned into an island, projecting about fifty yards into Lake Champlain. This rock once separated the lands of the Algonquins and the Mohawks, whose territories were occupied by the French and English respectively. In 1710 it was acknowledged by the Treaty of Utrecht as the limit of British dominion, and fifty years later it was officially designated as the boundary between New York and Canada. But subsequently the Americans won the district for seventy-seven miles to the north of it. The continually increasing contingent of visitors to Westport find there beautiful scenery, a delightful climate, and, last but not least, a comfortable hotel, the Westport Inn, which is most modern and attractive in all its appointments, and the air of comfort and genial hospitality which pervades it is proved by the devotion with which its guests return year after year, accompanied by friends to whom the story of Westport beauty has been told and retold. Charming cottages which cluster about the Inn, and which are really a part of the hotel itself, add much to the charm of life at the Inn.

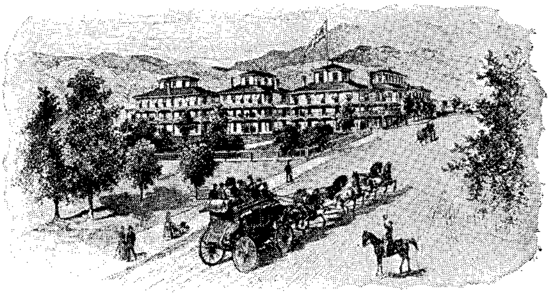
The cuisine and service have always been among the Inn's most attractive features, and the cream, milk, and vegetables are obtained fresh daily from the Inn's own farm. An exceptionally well laid out golf links adjoins the Inn, and few resorts offer greater inducements to the golf enthusiast.

"A glimpse at Lake Champlain through leafy bowers."

Elizabethtown has been called, and very properly, the inner gateway of the Adirondacks; and this charmingly situated little town, with its environs of green hills and its background of graceful mountain peaks, is a fitting introduction to the wild grandeur of the country beyond, the land of shimmering lakes and solitude.

Tally-ho stages meet trains at Westport to convey passengers to Elizabethtown, an enjoyable ride of eight miles through Raven Pass, whence stage lines run daily to Keene Valley. It is probable that unless the traveller's time is limited he will yield to the temptation to tarry a few days at Elizabethtown before exploring the wonders beyond, and he will be wise to do so.

"Playing for the Cobble Hill Golf Club Cup at Elizabethtown."



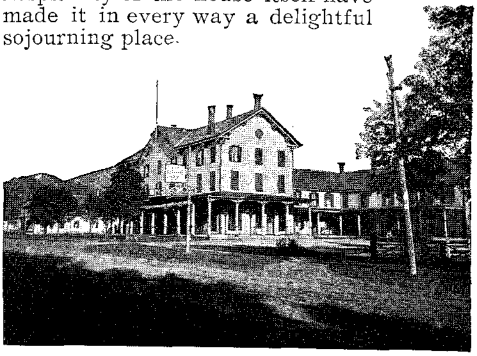
"The Windsor Hotel at Elizabethtown is one of the best known Adirondack hotels."

Here he may study and enjoy the mountains which have as many moods as the sea; he may see their long dense shadows in the early morn, outlined with greater intensity in the deep gorges and ravines which the convulsions of nature have left as scars on the mountain sides.

At Elizabethtown is the ever popular Windsor Hotel, with Mr. Orlando Kellogg as proprietor. Upon the pages of its register have been subscribed the names of thousands of people known to the world of letters, politics, and fashion. Elizabethtown is the tourist centre of the beautiful and unequalled Keene Valley, and the Windsor Hotel is the social centre of Elizabethtown. The Windsor coaches meet all trains and boats at Westport, and connect with stages to Keene Valley, Cascade Lakes, North Elba and Lake Placid. Private teams will be provided when requested. A delightful place at which to spend a longer or a shorter period, as it is within easy reach, by the best drives, of many of the most attractive spots in the Adirondacks. Elizabethtown is in itself a most charming village, and is within eight hours of New York, four hours from Albany and three from Saratoga. The hotel itself is perfectly appointed and unexceptionably managed. It has every convenience which may add to the comfort and pleasure of existence. A handsome four-in-hand brake makes two trips daily from the Windsor through the surrounding mountains, and the livery attached to the house is abundantly supplied with saddle and driving horses. The table at the Windsor is not excelled anywhere, as the table is supplied with fresh butter, cream, eggs and vegetables from the proprietor's farm. Professor Mason, the analytical chemist, has pronounced the drinking water at Elizabethtown one of the purest waters he has ever analyzed. Mr. Kellogg has had twenty-five years' experience in the hotel business at Elizabethtown, and it is doubtful if any man in America is better qualified to meet the requirements of summer guests.

The Deer's Head Inn, at Elizabethtown, has long been a delightful home for the summer tourist, and is recognized as one of the most comfortable and homelike houses in the Adirondacks.

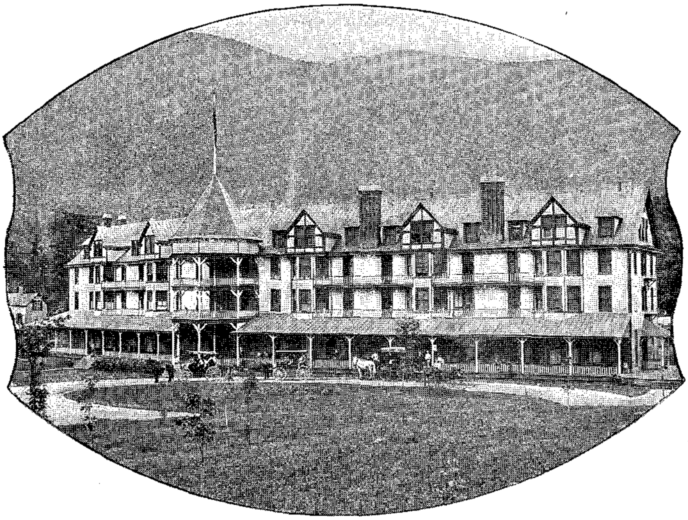
Its location is most attractive, commanding magnificent views of the mountains, while the freedom from all restraints and the genial hospitality of the house itself have made it in every way a delightful sojourning place.



"The Deer's Head Inn at Elizabethtown is a delightful summer home."

Good drives radiate from Elizabethtown in all directions. Easy trails lead to the summits of Mount Hurricane and the Giant of the Valley. The village itself is one of unusual beauty and salubrity. The Keene Valley, which is entered from Elizabethtown, is famous the world over for its magnificent natural beauty and attractiveness. It is dotted with summer homes and hotels.

In the heart of beautiful Keene Valley, twenty-four miles by stage from Westport, stands St. Hubert's Inn, in the midst of the highest mountains and the most sublime of the Adirondack scenery. Keene Heights, upon which the Inn stands, is a broad plateau entirely surrounded by mountains clothed to their summits with primeval forests, and is in itself so elevated that it does not have the impression of being shut in.



"St. Hubert's Inn is located on Keene Heights, in the beautiful valley of the same name."

The Adirondack Mountain Reserve, covering forty square miles of territory, immediately adjoins that of the hotel. Within this Reserve are the two beautiful Au Sable Lakes and many trout streams. The guests of St. Hubert's are given permits to fish within its limits, and its many beauties are free to the guests of the Inn.

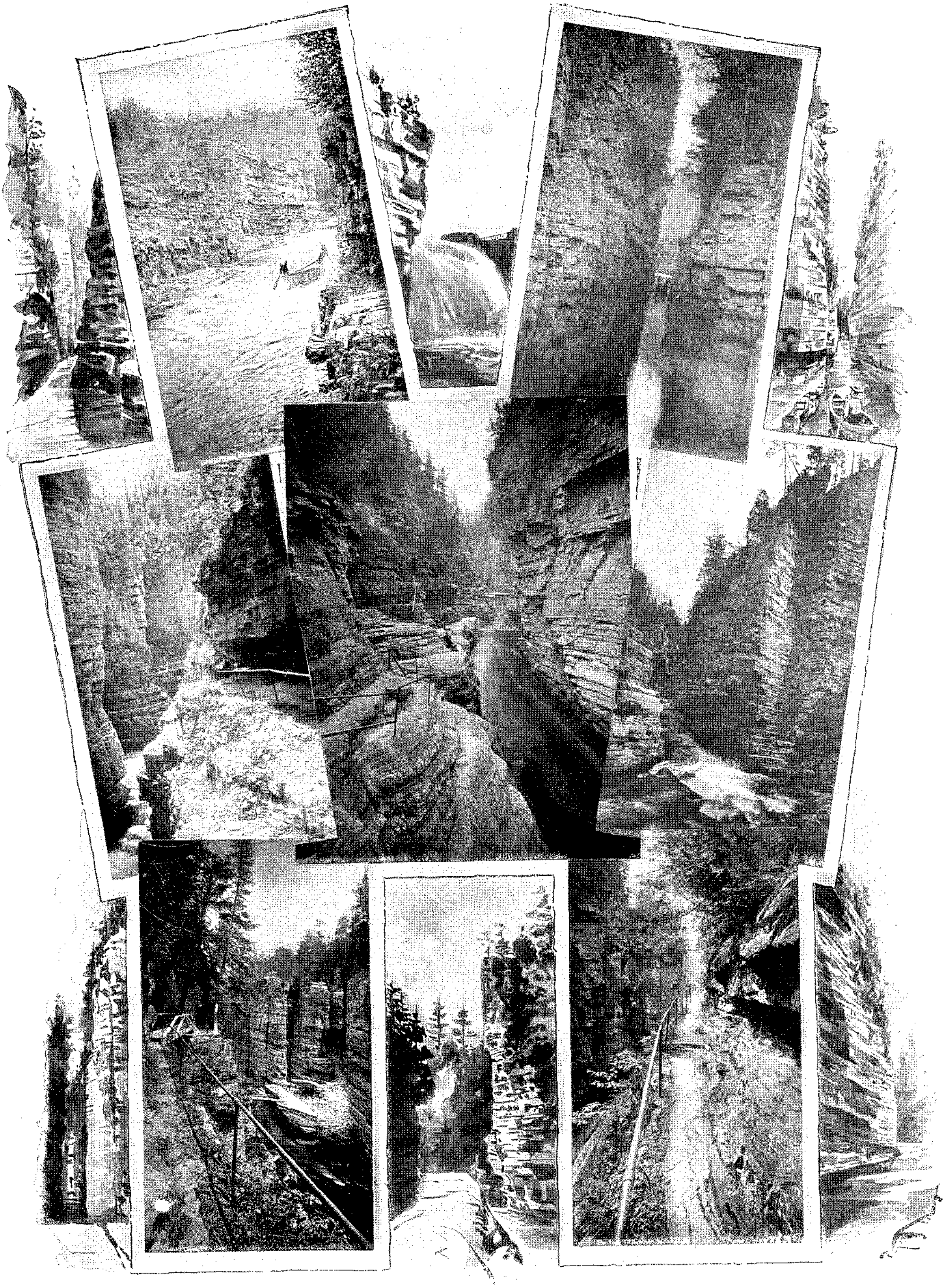
St. Hubert's Inn is new, fresh, and attractive, modern in construction and thoroughly complete in every particular. There are surrounding it eighteen cottages, and thus is formed a complete colony with a social life as characteristic as it is charming. It has accommodations for three hundred guests. All of the vegetables, milk, cream and eggs come from the Beede farm in the valley.

There is a casino for various entertainments and splendid golf links. Orlando Beede is proprietor, and the post office, located in the house, is named Beede's.

At Port Kent, 54 miles from Ticonderoga, connection may be made by tourists with the new railroad to the famous Au Sable Chasm, three miles distant. This masterpiece of nature, Baedecker pronounced the greatest natural wonder in America, next after Niagara Falls. Its grandeur and beauty is impressive beyond the most graphic description.

From far up in the mountain fastnesses the two forks of the Au Sable River have come by tortuous and uncertain courses through inviting valleys until they meet just below the picturesque Memington Pass. Then uniting they join in a mad rush for Lake Champlain, making almost at the very start a magnifi-

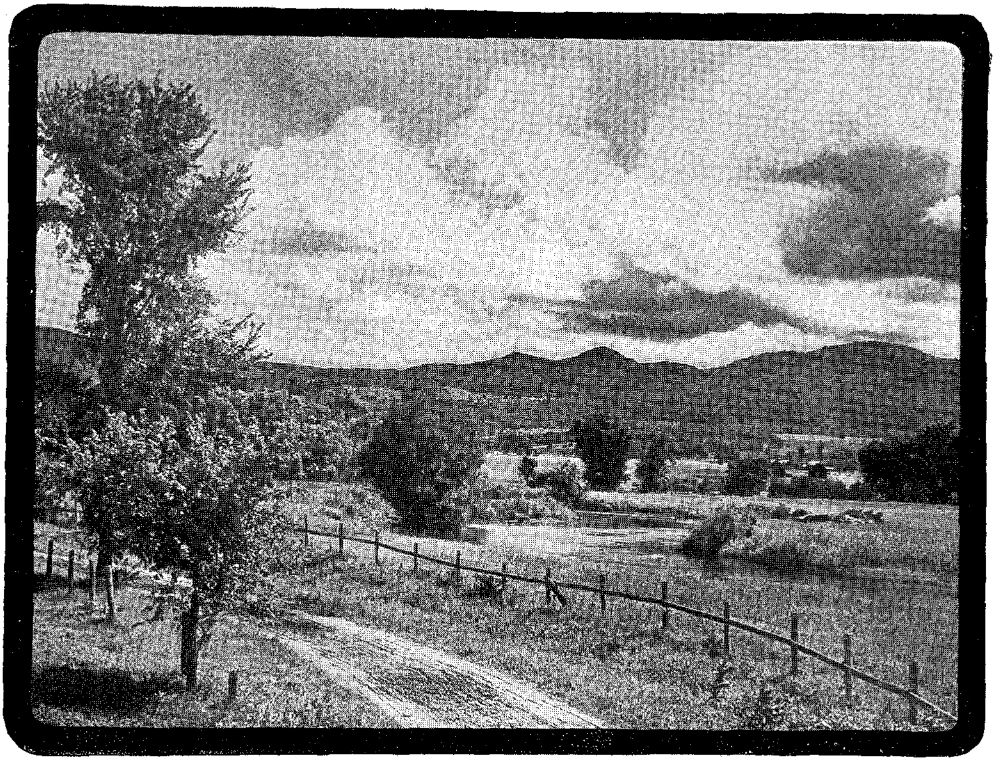
"No tourist should pass the wonderful Au Sable Chasm, and he will find there a splendid hotel with all appointments for luxury and comfort."



"No one who has ever made the trip through Au Sable Chasm will soon forget this most wonderful of all wild gorges."

cent plunge over Alice Falls, the most beautiful in the Adirondacks.

This splendid cataract falls about forty feet, much of it being an almost sheer fall over ledges of rock with magnificent foaming watery stairways bordering it with their delicate lacework on either hand. The water, of which there is a large volume, tumbles down into an immense amphitheatre, which has been rounded by the torrent out of the adjacent enclosing rocks during past ages, and emerging flows sharply to the right, over some rapids, and then over a prosaic milldam, which is built across just above the chasm. Suddenly, as if to try its powers, the river leaps over a short



"The country along the eastern shores of Lake Champlain is one of rare beauty and picturesqueness, healthful and wholesome in every respect."

fall, and then with a force and majesty which is overpowering dashes seventy feet into the deep abyss below. Clouds of spray are flung far and near by the plunge, and float upward, to be tinted with all the colors of the rainbow by the summer's sun.

The trip through the chasm is one of constant surprises. Nature has disported herself here in her wildest mood. Sheer precipices, nearly 150 feet high, terminate in deep, dark pools where the water rests after its tumultuous passage through the more narrow gorges. There are many interesting and wonderful spots to be passed as the visitor follows the narrow pathway cleft in the sides of the dripping walls. They bear all kinds of fantastic names, as best befit their own local surroundings. The most impressive sensation of the trip is reserved for the end. The visitor, seated in a long boat and guided by a boatman who handles the paddle, shoots the rapids at the foot of the cliffs 200 feet high, passing through one point where the river is but 13 feet wide. Looking back one seems to be plunging down-hill. The boat darts through a flume about a quarter of a mile long and emerges into a broad placid basin which marks the exit from the chasm, from which the widened river flows through a flat open country until it empties into Lake Champlain.

The Hotel Au Sable Chasm is under the same management as the Chasm itself, and adds greatly to the comfort of tourists who are drawn by the thousands to this wonderful spot every summer.

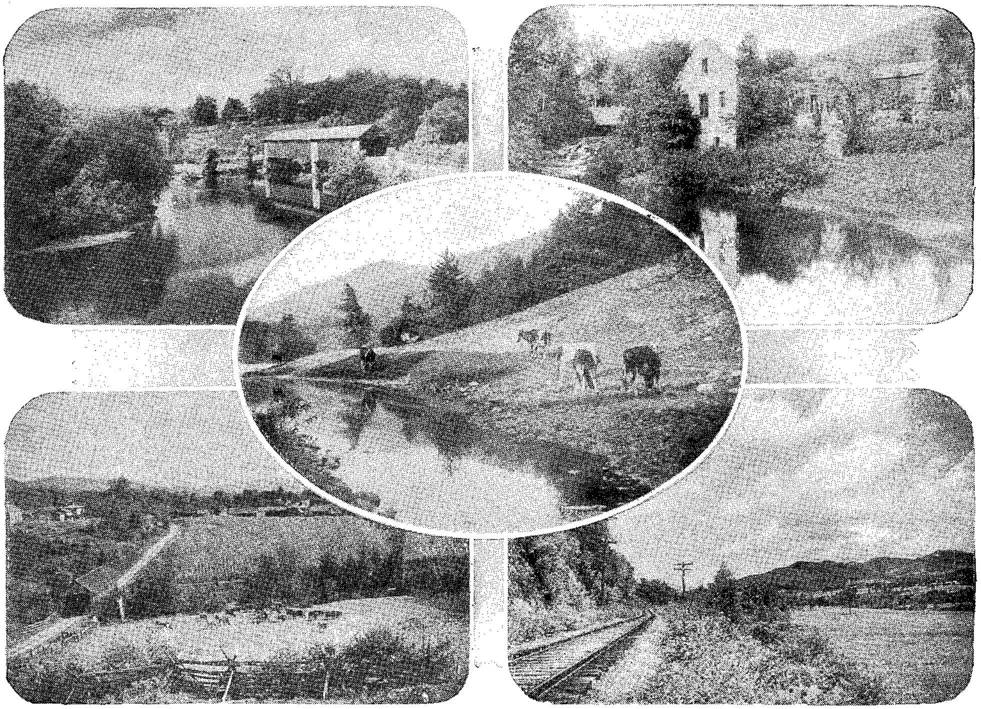
The Hotel is delightfully situated over five hundred feet above Lake Champlain and overlooking its great expanse of water. The view from the Hotel is one of extreme beauty —on the one side, the Lake with the Green Mountains in the distance—on the other, the Adirondacks, rising tier on tier, majestic in their sublimity. From the piazzas over 50 mountains may be seen. Its grounds, which include the Chasm, consist of 400 acres of beautiful lawns, fields and woodland, the entrance to the Chasm being only 500 feet from the door. The air is delightful here, and is extremely dry and bracing, while good roads, picturesque scenery, and countless walks and drives of rare interest and beauty, combine to make the place a most attractive and desirable summer resort. The Hotel is modern in construction and management. Its rooms are large and airy, and it is lighted throughout with electricity. There are no flies or mosquitos at Au Sable Chasm, and the absence of malaria and hay fever renders it most attractive to the tourist. The cuisine is of the highest excellence in every respect.

The table is supplied with the purest and richest of farm products, and the butter, milk, cream, and vegetables are features of the place. The drinking water is brought from a spring famous for its purity far up on the mountain side.

The great popularity of the Hotel is due in no small degree to its liberal management and to its genial air of comfort and hospitality. New golf links adjoin the Hotel, which are accounted among the finest in the country. Mr. Charles W. Bickford is manager.

On the eastern side of Lake Champlain is the pretty city of Burlington, with its 20,000 inhabitants, its college, its scores of magnificent residences, its extensive manufactories, and its many historical associations. Here the lake is at its widest, and one may look westward across its lovely surface and see the Adirondack Mountains, a sea of stern and rugged peaks, silhouetted against the sky, while to the east rise the rounded slopes of the Green Mountains.

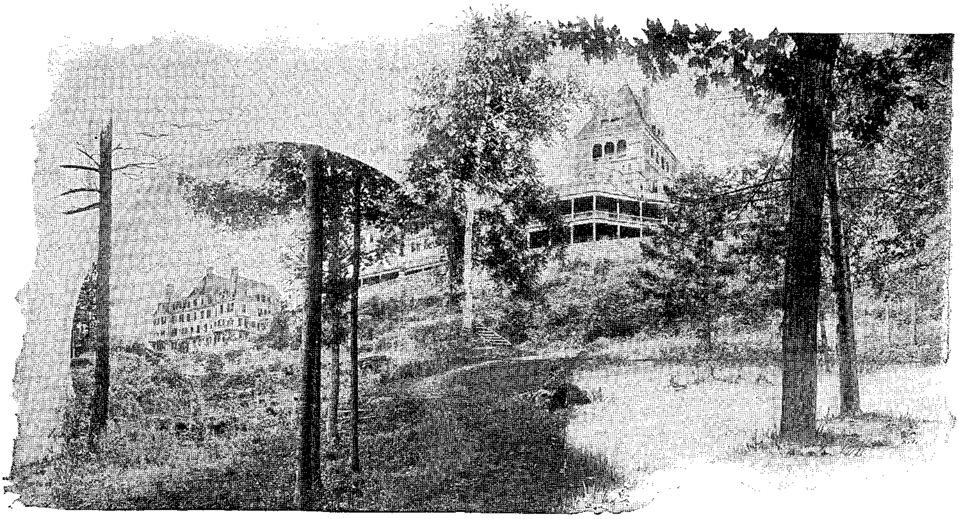
Vermont is territorially one of the smaller States of the Union, yet verifying in her intellectual and moral greatness the old saying that "the best things are put up in the smallest parcels." The Green Mountains run north and south through her borders as a sort of a spinal column from which ridges, as ribs, extend east and west toward the river and the lake. Over these ridges and in the valleys between is poured the rich soil, like the abundant flesh of the well-formed man, while brooks and streams course as veins and arteries in every direction. Mt. Mansfield and Camel's Hump toward the north lift up their profile of a human face. From hilltops and these mountain summits stretch visions of beauty in every direction. You may travel the wide world over and see no picture of such rich and quiet charm as that which the Winooski or Champlain Valley gives to one standing on the western slopes of the Green Mountains. No one can spend the summer in this region without coming to appreciate something of the strong attachment which binds every true Vermonter to his native State.



"You may travel the world over and see no picture of such rich or quiet charm as that which the Champlain Valley offers."

It is a love that never fades away; go where he may on the face of the earth, the child of Vermont ever turns in memory a loving gaze on her beautiful green hills and waters. The stirring, active, ambitious business man evidently thinks its peaceful life not suited to his tastes and struggles, but to one who loves Nature in her quiet and sweetest moods, there is little more attractive than the Green Mountain State. The State is high and dry; every bucketful of the air is crisp and pure. The homes of Vermont are those of a thoughtful, forceful, wide-awake, educated population that read the daily papers, take the magazines, and buy the best books of the day. The people are forehanded and independent. The butter, milk, and cream, also its maple sugar, are unequalled. The country is richly productive, and the summer fare of fruit, vegetables, eggs, and poultry is unrivalled.

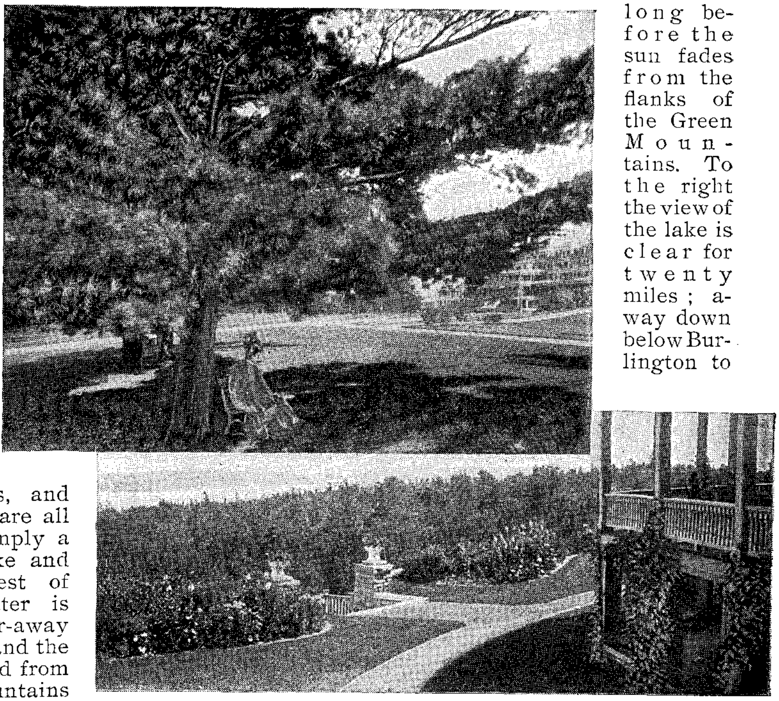
Vermont bass fishing is the best in the Union, and there is other sport with the rod, and still other with the gun. Vermont resorts are near and easily reached. Board at family homes $4 per week and upward. All railroads sell low round-trip tickets, especially via White River Junction. Vestibuled passenger coaches, parlor and sleeping cars are on all through trains.



"The Hotel Champlain, at Bluff Point, has for several years been the summer home of President McKinley."

From Port Kent the stately steamer *Vermont* follows on its trip the western shore of the lake, passing the picturesque Au Sable Point, and between Valcour Island and the bluffs, touches at Bluff Point, the landing-place of the great Hotel Champlain, which fittingly crowns a noble promontory overlooking the lake and the mountains far beyond. This house is typical in the highest sense of the perfection to which American architects and capitalists have brought the summer hotel. It is surrounded by a beautiful natural park of 450 acres of woodland and meadow, and more than $50,000 has been spent in constructing under a well-devised plan perfect roadways, lawns, and walks along the lake shore, cliffs, and forests, the house itself being built upon a foundation of solid rock. Each one of its nearly half-thousand rooms commands a view of surpassing loveliness. There are no back rooms in this house, because there is a frontage to each point of the compass, and the outlooks afforded are all beautiful, it being simply a choice as between lake and mountain. The purest of mountain spring water is brought from the far-away reservoirs of nature, and the winds which are wafted from the recesses of the mountains are laden with the very purity of heaven.

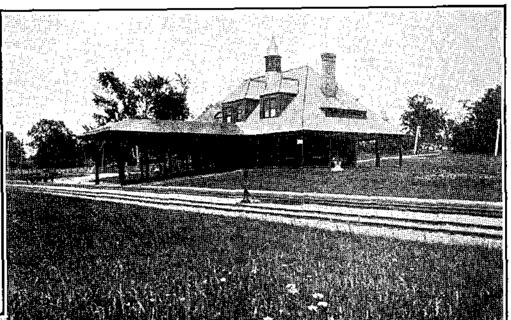
Immediately below the hotel is an abrupt, wooded declivity, a bit of the clean sandy beach showing at the foot of an open swath cut through the firs. To the northward is Cumberland Bay, and across Cumberland Head the further waters of the lake near its foot. A mile away, intermediate, is Crab Island, and to the right Valcour Island, checkered with farms and belted with forest area. Five miles across is Grand Isle, and beyond to the eastward and southeast the shore of Vermont, purple in the evening shadows long before the sun fades from the flanks of the Green Mountains. To the right the view of the lake is clear for twenty miles; away down below Burlington to

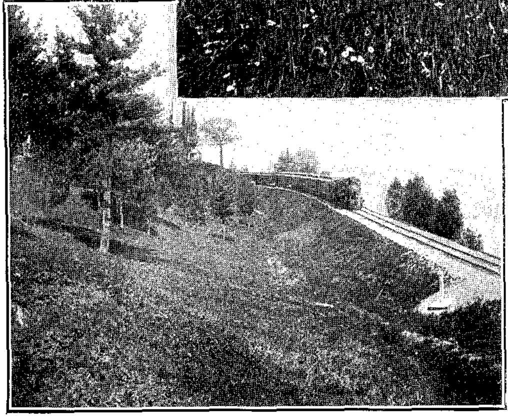


"The view of Lake Champlain from the hotel is magnificent."

the narrow reach of the southern extreme there are scores of distant islands, which now and then gloom in passing cloud-shadows and again are lost in the dim shore line behind.

White smoke-plumes sway and rise and fade along the western shore, where express trains, themselves unseen and unheard, speed along the rocky reaches around the headlands miles away upon the "D. & H." Swift steamboats break the still surface, and loitering sail-craft wait for the evening breeze. Over the lake the eye continuously travels upward to the base of the rugged steeps of Mt. Mansfield and all of its group of lesser peaks. To sit here in this broad proscenium watching a sunrise is a poem; to look at it in eventide is an epic.



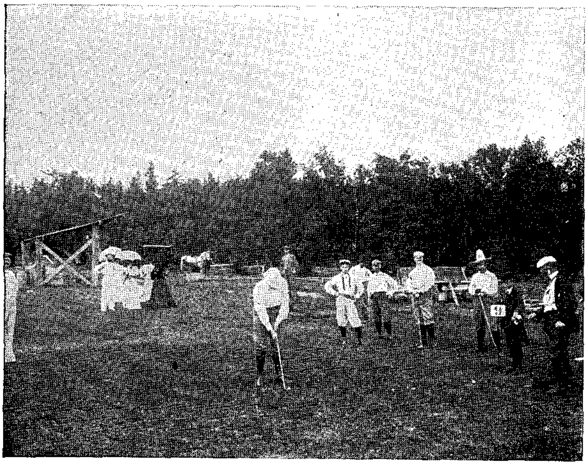


"The Delaware & Hudson tracks skirt the Lake for many miles."

The interior finishing and furnishing of the house are luxurious and bear out the fair promise of the tasteful white and gray exterior so set off by the long spacious porches overlooking the lake. Mr. O. D. Seavey, whose name is so very long associated with the Ponce de Leon at St. Augustine, is, and has been since its opening, the manager of this hotel. This in itself is an assurance that nothing which can tend to increase the pleasure or comfort of the guests will be overlooked.

Life at the Hotel Champlain involves a most extraordinary variety of diversions. The golf links are as fine as any in the State and most picturesquely laid out. Equestrian expeditions are possible in various directions, and pedestrian wanderings are exceedingly popular. Frequent steamboats upon the lake and local trains upon the railroad offer a long list of single-day excursions, each enjoyable in its turn. Much of the best fishing and hunting territory of the Adirondack region may be reached in time to enjoy a good day's sport and return at nightfall. The abundant provision for thoroughly heating the house in the late season makes the Hotel Champlain a most desirable point for gentlemen sportsmen to locate their families during the autumn gunning period. Billiard tables and a series of bowling alleys (in a separate structure) offer a remedy for *ennui* in inclement weather.

The largest military post in the East is close by, and adds greatly to the social attractions of the place, with its drills, grard mounts, and dress parades. The music is furnished by Brooks' Band and Orchestra, and the ballroom is nightly a scene of gayety and pleasure. Fort Montgomery, Fort Ethan Allen, and the historical ruins of the forts at Crown Point and Ticonderoga are near by. All the steamers of the Champlain Transportation Company and all the trains of the D. & H. stop at the Hotel Champlain, the pier being at the foot of the bluff and the station in the park just west of the hotel. The Hotel Champlain is thus easy of access, in either drawing-room or sleeping car, from New York, Albany, or Saratoga. It is a convenient stopping-point for tourists to or from Montreal, the Adirondacks, the White Mountains, or Lake Champlain points.



"Golf at the Hotel Champlain is the popular recreation."

"There is no better hunting anywhere in the North Woods than along the line of the Chateaugay Railroad, which runs through an ideal region for sport."

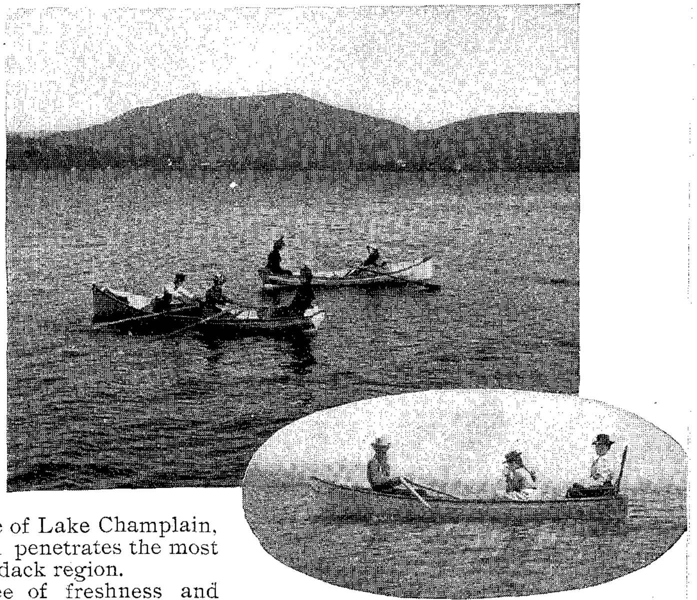
Plattsburg, three miles beyond Bluff Point, is a beautiful little city of eight or ten thousand inhabitants, a county-seat, and is attractively located on the shore of Lake Champlain just where the Saranac River empties into it. The views which are given convey some impression of the attractive features of Plattsburg. Among its fine buildings are the United States Custom House and Post Office, St. Peter's Church, and a quaint old French nunnery. South of the town a mile is the United States barracks. From Plattsburg the handsome steamers of the Champlain Transportation Co. proceed to Maquam, the northern terminus.

Plattsburg is connected with the early history of the country as being the place where Macdonough and Macomb defeated the British naval and land forces under Commodore Downie.

The tourist stopping at Plattsburg will find the Fouquet an exceptionally comfortable and well-appointed house, excellently kept and attractively furnished. It is situated directly opposite the railway station, on a high bluff overlooking the wide expanse of Lake Champlain, and is the popular rendezvous for tourists going in and out of the Adirondacks. It is under the direct management of Mr. James Haney, who is thoroughly alive to the comfort of his guests, and under his regime the Fouquet has earned a well-deserved popularity.

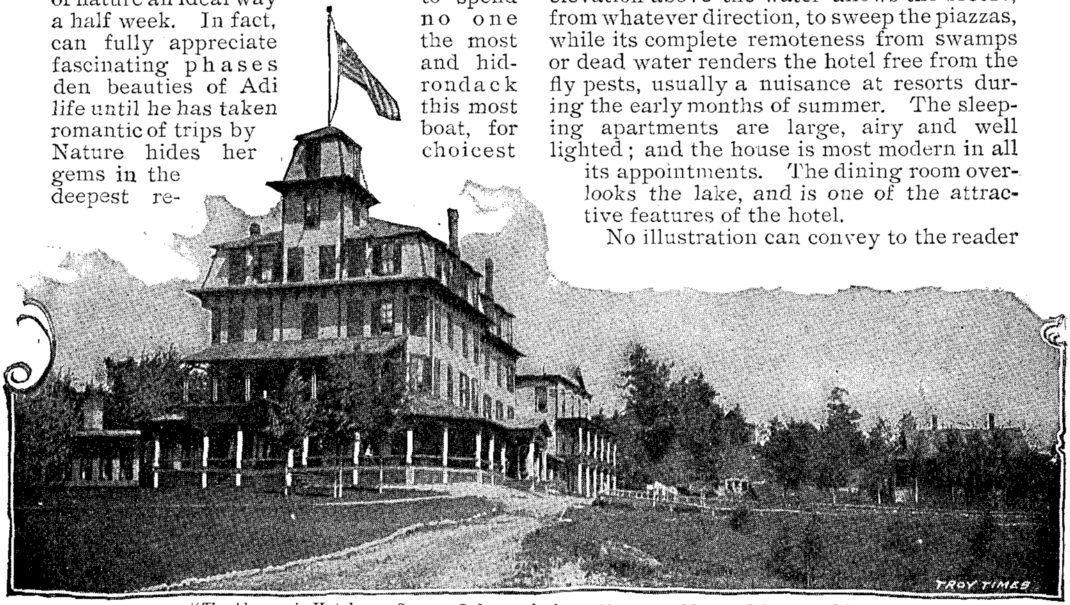
From Plattsburg the Chateaugay Railroad, after running for a while along the shore of Lake Champlain, turns into the mountains and penetrates the most beautiful portion of the Adirondack region.

There is a wonderful degree of freshness and variety in the scenery along this picturesque line. Towering mountains hem in the horizon on each side, while here and there the valleys open out, disclosing vistas of lovely lakes, skirted to the very edges with dense forests of pine tree and balsam. There is not a mile of the Chateaugay Railroad which is not full of interest to even the casual tourist, and it reaches hotels of all grades, from elegant, thoroughly equipped houses where the wealthy and fashionable may enjoy every luxury, to the more modest but comfortable resort where people of the most moderate means find delightful summer homes. In the earlier days of the Adirondack Mountains as a summer resort the long, tedious stage road necessary to reach distant points prevented hundreds from gratifying their desire to visit them, but most of the choicer places are now easily reached by the Chateaugay



"The lakes along the line of the Chateaugay Railroad are favorites with those who love nature."

Railroad, via Plattsburg. The lakes along this line include such gems as Upper and Lower Chateaugay, Chazy Loon, Rainbow and the Upper and Lower Saranac. On the two latter the finest trip by water of any in the whole North Woods is to be enjoyed. Comfortably seated in one of the light Adirondack boats with a strong-armed guide at the oars, one may start at the Algonquin and skirt the lily-padded and wooded shore of the entire Lower Saranac, and by making a short "carry," he may launch his craft in the Upper Saranac. From here he may by turns cross the placid bosom of Fish Creek, Big Square, Floodwood, Rollins and Whey ponds, all lovely bodies of water edged with forest-covered mountains. It is one of the most beautiful trips imaginable, and to the lover of nature an ideal way to spend a half week. In fact, no one can fully appreciate the most fascinating phases and hidden beauties of Adirondack life until he has taken this most romantic of trips by boat, for Nature hides her choicest gems in the deepest recesses of the mountains, apart from the beaten paths of man.



"The Algonquin Hotel upon Saranac Lake overlooks a wide sweep of lake and forest, and is one of the most popular houses of the Adirondack region."

There are many spots on the route where the forests descend to the water's edge and the eye cannot penetrate the tangled growth. Their mysterious perfume embodies the deepest, sweetest, most delightful secrets of nature; the odor is subtle, fragrant beyond description, and heavy with aromatic airs.

The Adirondack "guides" are as fine a set of men as can be found the world over. As a rule they are thoroughly sober, trustworthy, willing and companionable, and can shoot, cook, and tell yarns with a skill truly remarkable. They know the great trackless wilderness thoroughly, and the writer has never in his experience seen, and then but for a moment, one puzzled over his location but once, and that was when making a "carry" from one pond to another on a dark night through an almost impenetrable forest.

Chateaugay Lake has for many years been the favorite rendezvous of those who wish to combine fishing and hunting with the many other attractive features of the North Woods. Nowhere are there greater or better opportunities for sport. The entire region about Chateaugay and Chazy Lakes, and, in fact, along the line of the Chateaugay Railroad, is a natural game and fish preserve where excellent sport is sure to be had.

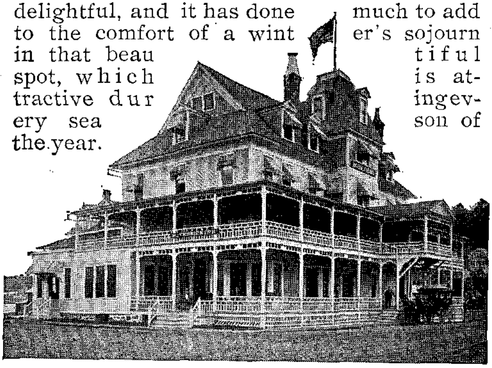
The Algonquin Hotel Company's property embraces seventy acres of land in one piece on the easterly shore of the lake, and two miles from the village of Saranac Lake. The hotel is situated not more than two hundred yards from the shore of the lake, the ground in front sloping gradually to the water's edge. From the piazzas delightful views of lake, woodland and mountain scenery are afforded. Its elevation above the water allows the breeze, from whatever direction, to sweep the piazzas, while its complete remoteness from swamps or dead water renders the hotel free from the fly pests, usually a nuisance at resorts during the early months of summer. The sleeping apartments are large, airy and well lighted; and the house is most modern in all its appointments. The dining room overlooks the lake, and is one of the attractive features of the hotel.

No illustration can convey to the reader the beauty of the location of this hotel, situated as it is on the lower Saranac Lake, one of the most beautiful of the Adirondack gems. There are few, if any, locations in the North Woods where one may find amid such delightful natural surroundings such a comfortable and luxurious hotel. Nothing is lacking that will increase the comfort of its guests.

There is most excellent sport to be had in the neighborhood of the Algonquin, and the fishing in the Saranac is too famous to need particular mention here.

Further information regarding this region may be had of Mr. John Harding, Algonquin P. O., Franklin Co., N. Y.

The Riverside, one of the popular all-the-year-round resorts at Saranac Lake, is located on high ground upon the edge of the village, overlooking the quiet waters of beautiful Lake Flower. The hotel is new and large and most comfortably equipped. It has every modern convenience and the rooms are large and attractive. As a winter, as well as a summer resort, the Riverside is most delightful, and it has done much to add to the comfort of a winter's sojourn in that beautiful spot, which is attractive during every season of the year.

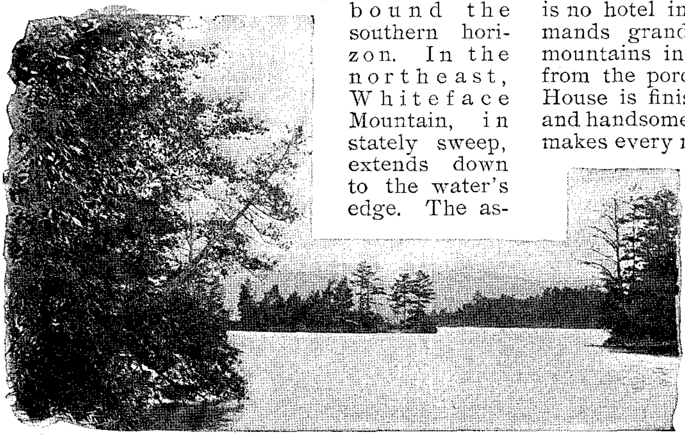


"The Riverside, one of the popular all-the-year-round resorts at Saranac Lake."

Messrs. Pine & Corbett, the proprietors, are thoroughly alert to all that is modern in hotel keeping, and the air of comfort and hospitality which impresses every guest contributes to its constant and deserved success.

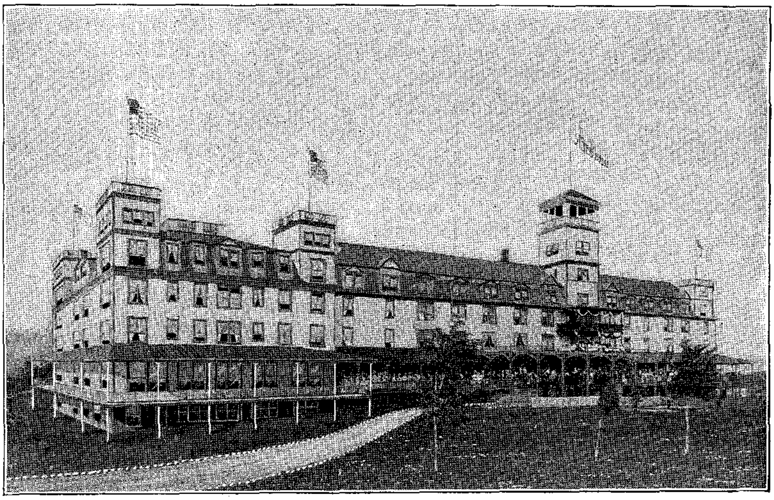
Lake Placid and Mirror Lake, long renowned for their picturesqueness beauty, are separated by a narrow strip of land but a few yards in width. Scattered around these two exquisitely lovely lakes are the fine hotels that during the summer months are filled with the happy, light-hearted crowds that frequent this section. The noble peaks of an entire range of mountains, including Mt. Marcy, the highest in the State, bound the southern horizon. In the northeast, Whiteface Mountain, in stately sweep, extends down to the water's edge. The ascent of the mountain is easily made. Upon its bare, storm-beaten summit some enthusiastic lover of the grand in nature has cut with reverent chisel, deep and clear into its everlasting rock, these words:

"Thanks be to God for the Mountains."

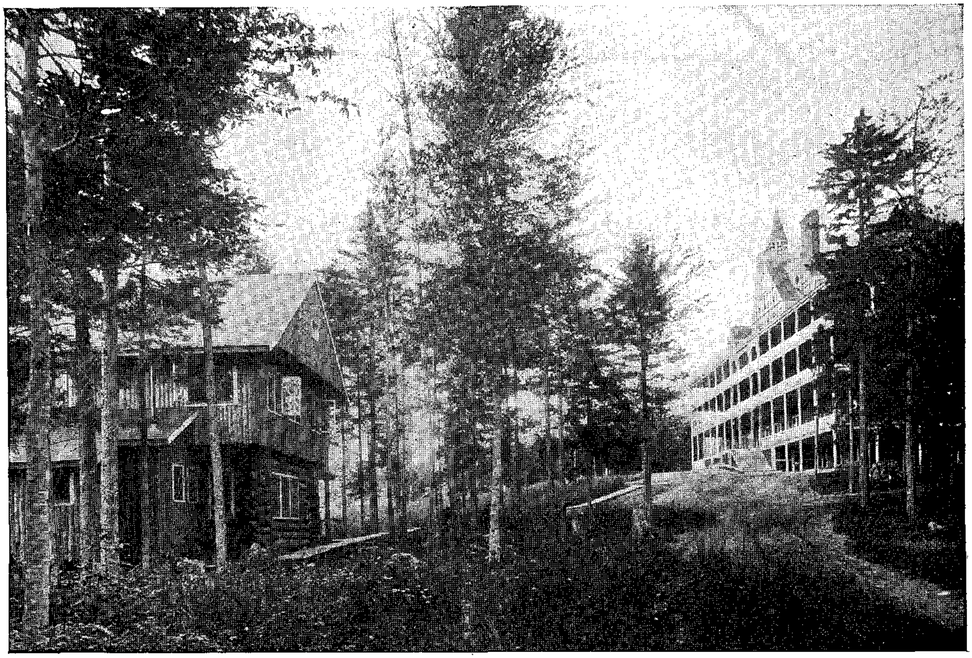


The scene presented to the eye of the beholder from this point is one of the most striking and sublime in the whole domain of nature. There is nothing to obscure the view in any direction. Eastward, the bosom of Lake Champlain is beheld heaving in the sunlight and flashing back its brilliancy. Tahawas, the Giant of the Valley, Hurricane Mountain, Dix's Peak, Nipple Top, Saddle Back, Seward, McIntyre, and the Gothics are before us to the south, vast and wild.

The Stevens House, at Lake Placid, is picturesquely located on an elevation commanding one of the most magnificent of the many views which are afforded in this region. Its main floor is 2,063 feet above tide-water, and from one side of the hotel may be seen Lake Placid, and on the other Mirror Lake. There is no hotel in the Adirondacks which commands grander views. The four highest mountains in the State stand in full view from the porches of the hotel. The Stevens House is finished throughout in hard wood and handsomely furnished. Its ideal location makes every room a front room, and, unlike many summer hotels, its bedchambers are all large and each has two windows. The golf links at Lake Placid, which are considered among the best in this country, are but a short distance from the hotel. Messrs. J. A. and G. A. Stevens are the owners and managers, and what Lake Placid is to the Adirondacks, the Stevens House is to Lake Placid.

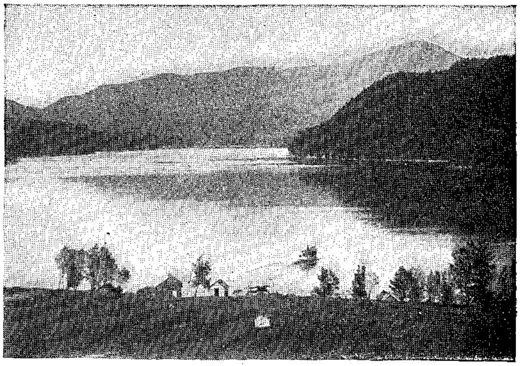


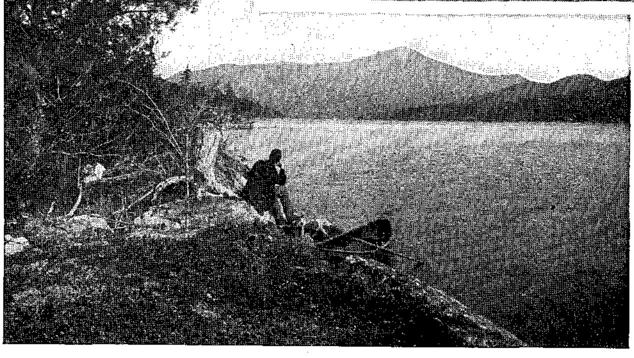
"The Stevens House upon Lake Placid has always enjoyed great popularity. It is very centrally located and from its porches a magnificent view is to be had."



"No hotel in the entire Adirondack region enjoys greater popularity than the Ruisseaumont at Lake Placid. It overlooks one of the most sublimely beautiful views in America."

Of all the Adirondack hotels none has a more ideal location than the Ruisseaumont, upon beautiful Lake Placid. It overlooks both Mirror Lake and Lake Placid, and offers from its piazzas and windows some of the fairest and most extensive views. Its appointments are in every respect of the most modern order, and under the management of Mr. T. Edmund Krumbholz is a favorite stopping-place with the large number of Adirondack visitors who return to the Ruisseaumont after a tour through the mountains with the feeling that no other hotel can quite take its place. There are a number of beautiful rustic cottages near the hotel which are ideal for summer residence. Although luxurious in its furnishings and with every convenience for the comfort and well being of its guests, the Ruisseaumont retains that homelike character so often lacking at the great resort hotels of the country. The Ruisseaumont is one of the first of Adirondack hotels to open, and its guests always tarry until late in the fall. It has ample accommodation for two hundred guests. There are excellent golf links maintained close at hand for the use of the guests and a large fleet of rowing and motor boats are always at their service.

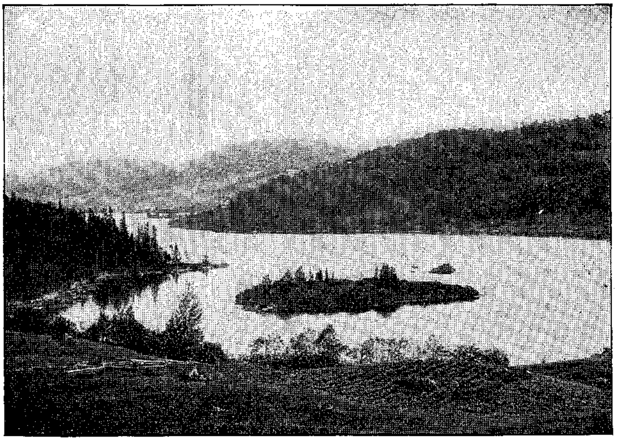




" Lake Placid and Lake Mirror are known as the twin beauties of the Adirondacks."

Given an illimitable tangle of forest and stream—woods alive with game both large and small, and lakes and streams teeming with fish; a land whose wondrous natural beauty is yet undefiled by the commonplaces of civilization, and yet is not remote from its conveniences and comforts, and whose free, fresh atmosphere is balmy and invigorating and healthgiving—what more could that vast and yearly increasing brotherhood of pleasure-seekers who delight in out-door life desire?

There is such a region near at hand in the Canadian Province of Quebec—an undisturbed wilderness of rare beauty. It is in this virgin region that Americans in constantly increasing numbers are making their summer homes, and pleasant experiences lead to their return every recurring season with augmented contingents of congenial friends, for here exist those ideal conditions which appeal to the camper, the sportsman, the canoer; and for those, be they men or women, who care not for popular seasides or fashionable springs, it is a peaceful haven which grants a perfect and restful holiday.



"Quebec is rich in exquisite lakes, and an ideal country for recreation or sport."

From Montreal, that interesting city on the St. Lawrence, the Canadian Pacific leads directly to this great Summer Land, enabling the traveller to almost step from his comfortable car into the great green woods through which flow incomparable watercourses to all points of the compass. From Quebec City in the east to Temagami in the famed Temiskaming country on the west, one can easily find his way by these marvellous inland waters, and the tours may be short or long as inclination wills, or time at one's disposal permits.

Immediately north of Montreal, and penetrated for eighty miles by the railway, are the Laurentians, a charming region of hill and valley and lake and stream, where lie the greatest trout-fishing waters of America. The northern terminus of the railway is at Labelle, one hundred miles from Montreal, the gateway to the Nomimingue lake region, which surpasses all that has been seen before in the size and beauty of its lakes, the abundance of fish, and large game that swarm the country. In this district are waters that are yet uncounted, in some of which few lines have ever been cast. To the dweller in a busy city it is a new world, of which a mere glimpse does not suffice, and the impulse comes to explore its wilds. Guides and boats are procurable to exploit its solitudes, and by driving to Rapide L'Original, canoe can be taken down the Lievre to Buckingham on the Ottawa River, from which Montreal is reached by train. It is a magnificent outing, occupying five days from Montreal, but is so capable of expansion by diverting routes, that a week or longer can be enjoyably spent in making it.

Another interesting trip is that which includes the celebrated Mastigouche and St. Maurice districts. The trains for Quebec that leave the Place Viger—a magnificent combined hotel and passenger station in Montreal—carry the tourist down the banks of the St. Lawrence to Joliette, where a branch railway leads north to St. Gabriel de Brandon. From here it is easy voyaging through lakes and down rivers to the Mattawin, by which the St. Maurice is reached. A region is traversed where moose, caribou, deer, as well as small and feathered game, are plentiful, and opportunities exist for well-filled creels. Part of the journey can be made by steamer, which brings one to Grand Piles, and from there a branch railway connects with the line between the cities of Montreal and Quebec.

These are but a few of the numerous outings that could be outlined in this new Canadian wonderland, but they are among the easiest of access, with facilities for procuring reliable guides when necessary, and supplies of all kinds. To the more adventurous there are many places that yet await a new Columbus to discover them.

But whatever the visitor's choice of route of travel, his tour would be incomplete without spending a day or two in the quaint city of Quebec, a queer old spot, which to surprised American eyes looks as if it had been transplanted from the Old World, and had lost none of its antiquity or quaintness in the transplanting. It is a city of fortresses and famous battlefields, and many strange reminders of a by-gone age. In the midst of this mediævalism, in settings that are remindful of Old France, is a modern hotel, the Château Frontenac, whose site for grandeur and picturesqueness has no rival. Of historic interest Quebec is full, and to visit it is to enjoy a novel and delightful experience, which long lingers in memory.